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ABSTRACT

This collection of papers is divided into five parts. Part 1, "The Native Speaker," includes "The (Non)Native Standard Language in Foreign Language Education: A Critical Perspective" (Robert W. Train) and "The Native Speaker, the Student, and Woody Allen: Examining Traditional Roles in the Foreign Language Classroom" (Anke Finger). Part 2, "The Pedagogical Norm," includes "The Acquisition of Sociostylistic and Sociopragmatic Variation by Instructed Second Language Learners: The Elaboration of Pedagogical Norms" (Albert Valdman) and "Linguistic Norms vs. Functional Competence: Introducing Quebec French to American Students" (Julie Auger). Part 3, "The Heritage Speaker," includes "Interaction with Heritage Language Learners in Foreign Language Classrooms" (Manel Lacorte and Evelyn Canabal) and "Near-Native Speakers in the Foreign Language Classroom: The Case of Haitian Immigrant Students" (Stacey Katz). Part 4, "The Use of English," includes "The Diglossic Foreign Language Classroom: Learners' Views on L1 and L2 Functions" (Monika Chavez) and "Identity, Deficiency, and First Language Use in Foreign Language Education" (Julie A. Belz). Part 5, "The Native/Non-Native Dichotomy Debated," includes "The Privilege of the Non-Native Speaker" (Claire Kramsch); "The Privilege of the Nonnative Speaker Meets the Practical Needs of the Language Teacher" (Dale A. Koike and Judith E. Liskin-Gasparro); "Prescriptivism, Linguistic Variation, and the So-Called Privilege of the Non-Native Speaker" (Betsy J. Kerr); "Privilege (or Noblesse Oblige) of the Nonnative Speaker of Russian" (Thomas J. Garza); and "The Native Speaker: Membership has its Privileges" (H. Jay Siskin). (Papers contain references.) (SM)

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The Sociolinguistics of Foreign-Language Classrooms: Contributions of the Native, the Near-native, and the Non-native Speaker

Carl Blyth

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The Sociolinguistics of Foreign-Language Classrooms: Contributions of the Native, the Near-native, and the Non-native Speaker

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Carl S. Blyth
Editor

Introduction

This volume, the thirteenth in the series of the American Association of University Supervisors, Coordinators, and Directors of Foreign Language Programs (AAUSC), Issues in Program Direction, explores the applications of sociolinguistic scholarship to the teaching and learning of foreign languages in the context of American higher education. Historically, applied linguistics has been heavily influenced by research in the allied fields of linguistics and psycholinguistics. These two fields focus on language as an abstract, context-free system and how the human mind apprehends, processes, stores, and accesses parts of that system. In other words, researchers from these fields tend to conceive of the locus of cognition as the individual mind. In the past several decades, however, applied linguists have become increasingly interested in sociolinguistic issues of language learning. The so-called "sociocultural turn" in foreign language research belies a conviction that the social context of learning matters. For, as socioculturalists are quick to point out, language is always learned in a social context—whether the context be the home, the office, the street, or the classroom.

Foreign language teachers face sociolinguistic concerns everyday. For example, the object of study—the foreign language—comes in a multitude of context-sensitive forms. What are teachers to do about this reality? Should teachers attempt to deal with sociolinguistic variation from the beginning? Or is it best to simplify the pedagogical task for learners by idealizing and thereby reducing the object of study to the "educated standard norm"? Is it even possible to teach sociolinguistic competence in a classroom where language use is restricted by the social roles of "teacher" and "student"? Another sociolinguistic issue central to all foreign language teachers is language choice, that is, the use of the first language (in this case, English) versus the foreign language. What is gained and what is lost by banishing the first language from the classroom? Or put differently, should we allow our classrooms to become "multilingual speech communities" where "the natives" mix codes in ways that teachers may find unfamiliar and thus disconcerting? And finally, what are the salient differences between teachers who are native speakers and those who are non-native? Do they differ significantly in their linguistic attitudes? Are natives likely to be more prescriptive than the non-natives or vice versa? How do the linguistic ideologies of teachers differ and what impact do these ideological differences have on teaching practices? These are just a sample of the many fascinating questions that sociolinguistic research sheds light on.

Even when delimited to pedagogical issues, the relevant sociolinguistic scholarship surpasses the scope of this volume. As a consequence, this book focuses discussion by framing the issues in terms of the *native speaker construct*. Given how fundamental the native speaker is to the foreign language profession, it might strike some readers as odd that any examination is necessary. After all, as Kramsch (1997) points out, "the study of foreign languages and literatures is predicated, explicitly or implicitly, on the notion of the native speaker" (p. 359). It is not hyperbole to say that the native/non-native dichotomy lies at the heart of foreign language teachers' conception of who they are and what they do, affecting virtually all their pedagogical practices, from textbook selection to error correction. How we conceive of native speakership is thus eminently worthy of closer inspection. With the publication of his provocative book *The Native Speaker is Dead!* in 1985, Thomas Paikeday began such a reexamination. In particular, Paikeday was concerned with problematizing the role of the native, the near-native, and the non-native speaker in linguistic theory. Within the field of foreign language education, it has been argued that these constructs typically reflect an ideology that privileges native speakers over non-native speakers and assumes the superiority of certain native speakers over others (Rampton 1990, Blyth 1995, Kramsch 1997, Cook 1999). Furthermore, it has been shown that native speakers demonstrate significant differences in grammatical and sociolinguisticperformance making the homogenized native speaker found in many pedagogical materials a convenient fiction (Davies 1991). Finally, the construct of the near-native speaker, ubiquitous in MLA and ACTFL job announcements, has recently been criticized for lacking an operational definition (Koike and Liskin-Gasparro 1999).

This volume is divided into five sections. The first section surveys how the native/non-native speaker construct influences teachers' beliefs and practices: their linguistic attitudes (i.e., prescriptive vs. descriptive approaches to language), their socially defined roles in the classroom, and their understanding of what "counts" as a "language." The second section tackles the thorny problem of linguistic variation in the foreign language curriculum by elaborating the helpful notion of the pedagogical norm. The pedagogical norm offers instructors useful criteria for deciding whether sociolinguistic variation deserves to be included in the curriculum and at what level. The third section looks at the issues surrounding the presence of increasing numbers of heritage speakers in our classrooms. The fourth section reports on a central concern of all foreign language instructors—the role of the first language in foreign and second language teaching. Should we banish English from our classrooms altogether or might the use of English actually facilitate the learning of the foreign language? The final section consists of a somewhat controversial position paper on the native/nonnative dichotomy followed by responses from various foreign language educators. Instead of bringing the volume to a tidy close, this section aims to provoke further debate about the issues raised in previous sections.

The native speaker construct and its impact on foreign language teaching are the focus of the first section. In the first article of this section, Robert Train argues that the native speaker construct presupposes another influential construct—the native standard language. Analyzing language standardization in terms of linguistic ideology and sociocultural practice, Train shows that the unitary assumptions of the standard language predispose foreign language educators to conceive of linguistic variation and cultural diversity as "pedagogical problems." Train contends that educators should strive to achieve an "enlightened normativism" and ends with suggestions on how to incorporate critical language awareness into foreign language curricula and teacher education programs.

Anke Finger continues the focus on the native speaker by examining the problems that arise for both students and teachers when required to adopt roles that do not fit their social identities. Finger calls for the replacement of the native speaker model in teacher education programs with what she calls the "cultural informant." According to Finger, the term cultural informant "embraces both the nonnative and the native speaker without enforcing a dichotomous constellation; it precludes anticipation of complete knowledge and expertise; it dismisses the questionable prevalence of birth and territory by eliminating 'native;' and it allows for aspects of social variation such as gender, class, and ethnicity that may find expression in language."

The second section, devoted to the pedagogical norm, begins with an article by Albert Valdman, the leading pioneer in this area (Gass et al. 2002). The purpose of the pedagogical norm is to help teachers manage sociolinguistic variation by guiding the selection and sequencing of target language features. According to Valdman, pedagogical norms should be established according to linguistic, sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic factors: 1) the actual production of native speakers in authentic communicative situations; 2) the native speakers' idealized views of their speech and the perceptions of both native and non-natives regarding the expected behavior of foreign language learners; and 3) the relative ease of learning and use of a given form. Valdman illustrates the concept of the pedagogical norm by applying it to the teaching of French morphosyntax and phonetics.

Julie Auger's article extend's Valdman's definition of the pedagogical norm by applying it to the teaching of dialectal variation, in this case, the teaching of Quebec French in American classrooms. Contrasting the different pedagogical contexts of Canadian immersion programs with American universities, Auger suggests that American students be acquainted with Quebec French but for receptive purposes only. After sketching the most salient features of the dialect for the reader, she employ the pedagogical norm to aid in the selection and sequencing of popular Quebec songs in order to familiarize American students with "québécismes." Foreign language teachers will find this article valuable for its application of the pedagogical norm, as well as for its clever and concrete suggestions for the use of popular music to teach colloquial language.

In the third section, Manel Lacorte and Evelyn Canabal survey the most recent research regarding heritage speakers in American foreign language education. Heritage speakers present an unusual and challenging profile for foreign language teachers—an intriguing mixture of native and non-native competencies. This article examines three issues of concern to teachers who wish to "make room" for heritage language learners in their classrooms: 1) the sociocultural backgrounds of heritage language learners; 2) the pedagogical conditions of foreign language classrooms with heritage learners; and 3) the affective dimensions of the relationship between instructors and heritage learners.

Following Lacorte's and Canabal's overview of the issues concerning heritage language leaners, Stacey Katz describes her own experiences teaching French to Haitian students in an American university. Katz claims that neither 'heritage speaker' nor 'near-native speaker' adequately describe this heterogenous population. Based on surveys and follow-up interviews with her Haitian and American students, Katz presents a detailed report of both perspectives. She concludes with suggestions on how to integrate 'heritage/non-native speakers' into the foreign language classroom.

The next section treats the pedagogical problems of language choice in the foreign language classroom. Citing research on foreign language classroom discourse that demonstrates how the first and second languages serve distinctly different functions, Monika Chavez frames her discussion of language choice in terms of "diglossia," the sociolinguistic term commonly used to refer to a speech community where two language varieties are found in functional complementary distribution. Chavez's article is based on a large-scale survey she conducted in order to determine the views of students enrolled in German foreign language courses concerning the classroom use of English and German. She finds that students express different preferences for the L1 and the L2 according to the task or communicative function. Moreover, according to her survey, the more they study the language, the more students become receptive to using German for a wider variety of classroom functions. Finally, she points out that learners' views concerning classroom language choice are occasionally at odds with instructors' views. Despite these differences, both students and teachers clearly view their speech community, the classroom, as diglossic. Chavez admonishes language program directors to give classroom language choice careful consideration when devising programmatic policies.

Julie Belz's article extends the discussion of classroom language choice to incorporate the larger picture of multilingual competence, also referred to as 'multicompetence' by Vivian Cook (1992). After critically examining applied linguistic research, Belz concludes that there exists a strong tendency among scholars to define the non-native speaker solely in terms of linguistic deficiency. In an attempt to turn the image of the non-native-speaker-as-a-deficient-communicator on its head, Belz reports on a pedagogical experiment she conducted to examine "whether or not the learners reacted as deficient communicators when the institutionalized ban on L1 use in the classroom [...] was lifted." The results of her experiment reveal that foreign language learners when given permission to employ both codes in the same text do so in ways that exhibit a complex multilingual competence rather than a particular deficiency. She goes on to offer pedagogical suggestions for allowing students to employ a fuller range of multilingual resources for creative expression than is normally sanctioned in foreign language classrooms.

The line of reasoning developed in Belz's article owes much to Claire Kramsch's 1997 essay "The Privilege of the Nonnative Speaker" originally published as a guest column in the prestigious *Publications of the Modern Language Association* and reprinted here with permission from the Modern Language Asssociation. Arguing that non-native speakership is a position of privilege (if not always one of power), Kramsch deconstructs the myth of the native speaker. Of course, the readers of the PMLA are largely professors of literature well versed in postmodern discourse that shares much in common with Kramsch's rhetoric. But how would the very same article be received by different readers in a different context, namely members of the American

Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL)? Or members of the American Association of University Supervisors, Coordinators, and Directors of Foreign Language Programs (AAUSC)? I decided to find out. I sent Kramsch's provocative essay to various AAUSC members who I asked to ascertain its relevance to the foreign language teaching profession. Kramsch's article proved provocative indeed and raised further questions in the mind's of the respondents. If we get rid of the native speaker, where does that leave us? If we deconstruct the native speaker, what do we construct in its place? Besides, is the native speaker construct really as influential as Kramsch would have us believe? And finally, can our cherished belief in a theoretical construct have professional merit even if the construct itself may have little basis in reality? Important questions that will require further debate. If this volume helps engender such a debate, it will have achieved its purpose.

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The Native Speaker

The (Non)Native Standard Language in Foreign Language Education: A Critical Perspective

Robert W. Train
Somona State University

Introduction

There is a vast array of nomenclature used to describe programs dedicated to the study of the most widely taught non-English languages and literatures in North American schools, colleges, and universities. The canonical term is "foreign language(s)", a contrastive categorization (not native, other, not English) generally attached to discrete languages such as French, Spanish, Italian, German, or Chinese on the assumption of a privileged geographical origin in a nation-state. Some names incorporate broader continental or regional designations (e.g., European or Asian languages; Iberian languages), in addition to the universalizing "world" languages. Other appellations assume common cultural or ethnic heritage (e.g., Hispanic languages) and shared linguistic origins (e.g., Romance languages), as well as the contrastive "languages-other-than-English" and the periodizing "modern" versus "classical" languages. While this list is by no means exhaustive, it is interesting to note that the most sociolinguistically relevant term to describe these complex constructs of unity and differentiation in language education is absent: (non)native standard languages.

Perhaps the lack of explicit acknowledgement of the standard construct and its problematic nativeness is understandable given the fundamental role that nativeness and standardness have played in the construction of foreign language (FL) education—like the proverbial forest through which we can't see the trees. Perhaps the uncomfortable or even intractable nature of the issues raised by both these terms has limited or marginalized their place in the vibrant and sometimes heated debates among FL practitioners and researchers in the past several decades. However, members of the FL education community are beginning to formulate their critical responses to the problematic and contested issues associated with the teaching of a native standard language as a foreign language. It is in the spirit of contributing to a practical and theoretical discussion concerning the fundamental elements of our profession that I will outline the notion of (non)nativeness, central to FL education, in terms of an overarching ideology of standardization.

The substance of my position is that we recognize and critically examine the deep-seated standardness of the pedagogical constructs of language and culture that undergird the language teaching-learning endeavor in the classroom. A critical sociolinguistic and sociocultural perspective will promote a vision of language learning and teaching as a process of nurturing multilingual (Blyth 1995) and intercultural speakers (Byram and Zarate 1997; Kramsch 1998a) rather than the arguably unattainable goal of producing "native-like" speakers. Much of the important work thus far in challenging the idealized native speaker[1] has taken place with relatively little discussion of the standardization process that has created the dominant ideological construct of a native standard language.

A critical perspective on standardization is also useful in contextualizing foreign-language pedagogy within the broader educational system of which standard language is a central element. Therefore, I have chosen to focus on French and Spanish because they are the two most commonly taught languages in North American FL classrooms, and they have been seen to represent two seemingly diverse attitudes toward the construct of native standard language. For the teaching and learning of Spanish, it is necessary to recognize how the native standard constructions influence pedagogical practices and to question how "multicultural" and "intercultural" current approaches to Spanish actually are, and to what extent they contribute to the creation of workable notions of an intercultural and multicultural self in the learner within a global *Hispanidad* and in relation to the diversity of local and national communities. For the teaching and learning of French, the newly-emerging multiculturalism of the French class must be critically contextualized with respect to the native standard language ideology that has provided little space for the realization of socioculturally complex identities.

I will suggest some directions and dilemmas for FL education posed by the sociocultural construct of the native standard language in terms of linguistic ideology, sociolinguistic variation, intercultural and multicultural education, and critical language awareness.

The Native Standard Language: Linguistic Ideology and Sociocultural Practice

Sociolinguistics has posed the fundamental "problem" of the native standard language (NSL) in terms of the relationship between so-called artificial (i.e., imposed or engineered) constructs of the language and the reality of observable language use. Standard languages are the product of the standardization process and are therefore distinct from other linguistic varieties that have not undergone standardization.[2] The starting point of sociolinguistics is the concept of variation that attempts to both describe the basic heterogeneity of language and also problematize the linguistic "reality" of "the language" based on the homogeneous language of an idealized native standard speaker inhabiting a unitary community (see Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog 1968). The disjunct between what is thought, or assumed, to be the language (that is, the NSL) and language practices as they can be observed in a variety of contexts has led to a multidisciplinary view of standard language as a linguistic ideology (Milroy and Milroy 1985) grounded in a linguistic culture (Schiffman 1996) with significant sociocultural, political and pedagogical implications. Speakers of standard languages can be said to live in "standard language cultures" in which certain languages, including English, French and Spanish, "are believed by their speakers to exist in standardized forms, and this kind of belief affects the way in which speakers think about their own language and about 'language' in general" (Milroy 2001, p. 530). The recognition that standard languages are constructed in terms of linguistic ideologies and sociocultural practices forms the basis of a critical perspective on language education in general and, in the present discussion, FL education in particular. This is not the place to examine language standardization in all its complexity. Instead, I will point out several features of the NSL construct in order to open the discussion as to how ideologies shape, reflect, and construct the sociocultural practices that have come to constitute the "reality" of language teachers and learners.

(Non)Nativeness: No One's Native Language and the Language of the Native Speaker

Following the sociolinguistic premise of artificiality, the standard language has been characterized as no one's native language insofar as it is a cultural endowment with functions that cannot be mastered until after the period of normal first-language acquisition (Joseph 1987, p. 17). Although no one's native language, the standard language comes to define in ideological terms the language of native speakers with respect to what Benedict Anderson (1991) has called the "imagined communities" known as nations.[3] This ideologized nativeness, that is, the seemingly simple but highly problematic identity between one's native language-culture and the standard language, is at the heart of standardization.

Standardization is the process of language-making by which elite norms have come to define over time what constitutes "the language" of the nation, the empire, its citizens and its schools. The standardization process confers privileged native-speakership on the users of the standard language, which comes to be nativized as the putative native language of the educated members of society and becomes the universalized and essentialized hegemonic "unitary language" (Gramsci 1975; Crowley 1989) of the larger national and/or international community. In the case of Spanish, for example, the language practices of a geographically and socially situated group in Castile were codified (i.e., inscribed in grammars, dictionaries, orthographic rules, etc.), thus forming the basis of the universalized language of the kingdom and, later, the Spanish Empire. More recently, the polycentric standardization (Stewart 1968) of prestige norms in Spain and Latin America has come to define "the Spanish language" with respect to a constellation of standard language practices attached to national (e.g. Argentinean, Mexican) and international (e.g., American Hispanic) identities linked together by a notion of global *Hispanidad*.

The standardization process has taken on a life of its own in the recontextualization and systematization of the NSL construct as a pedagogical hyperstandard (Train 2000) for the purposes of teaching the language to non-native speakers. The codified formal and appropriate communicative elements in the foreign language (associated with a unitary foreign culture) constitute a set of pedagogical norms that represents "the language" and "the culture" in ways that are distanced from but related to the learners' existing language-culture practices as well as the actual language-culture practices of target language speakers.

The interplay between the linguistic ideology and the sociocultural reality of pedagogical practice is evident in what has probably always been the dominant assumption in foreign language instruction: a teachable language is a native standard language. The justification for the native speaker as a pedagogical construct resides in its social reality as an ideological construct of prestige and (in)equality grounded in language. The concern seems to be that language pedagogy must at all costs spare language learners from the stigmatized identity of nonnativeness by having an idealized native speaker proficiency as the ultimate goal.[4] The linguistic (in)security surrounding the standard language is highly problematic given that it is not clear to what extent adherence to the native speaker norm protects learners from non-nativeness, particularly in light of what Davies (1991) has called "the paradox by which native speakers judge non-native speaker sociolinguistic deviance more critically as non-native speaker grammatical proficiency increases" (p. 166).

Normativity and Practices of Variation

Standard languages represent and construct a worldview of language, culture, and society in which variation is problematic. Standardization involves the "suppression of optional variability" in language (Milroy and Milroy 1985). On the one hand, the goal of standardization is to suppress present (or synchronic) and future (or diachronic) variability in a language. On the other hand, the standard language requires the existence of practices of variation (i.e., a wide range of language and culture practices from regionally- and socially-marked pronunciation to bilingual code switching) that in effect define standard practices with respect to non-standard ones. In other words, the standard defines variation and is also defined by variation. In this sense, the goal of standardization is not to eliminate or even purport to eliminate variability but to institutionalize a set of evaluative and affective stances toward practices of variation in opposition to a standardized language and its attendant culture. These perceptions or misperceptions of variability are operative on the level of individual and collective beliefs, motivations and attitudes, as well as on a policy level that influences political and educational decisions about language.

Attitudes and motivations must be understood in relation to the central, though often unacknowledged, role of language norms and standards in language instruction (McGroarty 1996, p. 4). The NSL represents institutionalized normativity (Bartsch 1987) involving evaluative judgments and affective stances toward language (e.g., clear/unclear, good/bad, correct/incorrect, acceptable/unacceptable, appropriate/inappropriate). This idealized and authoritative (see Bakhtin 1981) state of "the language" (e.g., *le français, le bon français, el castellano, el español, la norma culta*) implies the imposition of an idealized native speaker norm (e.g., the *bon usage/buen uso* of the educated speaker) as the normative center and the internalization or nativization by speakers of the social attitudes and affective stances attached to this norm. In this way, the standard language also constitutes a set of "common-sense" assumptions, myths (see Bauer and Trudgill 1998) and "folk beliefs" (see Preston 1998) that discourages any challenge to the legitimacy of "the language" construct.

The integrated normativity (i.e., both institutionalized and internalized, official and commonsensical) of the NSL is central to the pedagogical hyperstandard that assumes the acquiescence on the part of learners to acquire the native speaker norm. The language of the FL classroom represents a universalized native speaker norm (e.g., native French speaker, educated native speaker) that is almost entirely controlled by the educational institution through teachers, textbooks, ancillary instructional materials, and the like. Yet learners (with their highly variable language and learning practices) are expected to conform to and ideally internalize the norm based on relatively little linguistic input and in a relatively reduced range of settings in which the language is presented.[5] Whether learners can or want to acquire the native speaker norm is not generally taken into account according to the dominant ideology.

A related assumption is that linguistic and educational quality resides solely in the native speaker norm. Individual and collective attitudes as to the quality of the language (Eloy 1995; Heller 1999), the language learning experience (i.e., acquisition), and instructional practices of teaching the language (i.e., pedagogy) are based on the knowledge and use of standard language, such that the "successful" learners are those who have "mastered" the standard language. Given that mastery of the standard (with its assumed cultural capital) is unevenly distributed in society, the underlying tacit assumption is that quality is a function of linguistic and cultural inequality. In this sense, the notion of standard language is a sociocultural reaction to variation in language-culture practices attached to ideologically constructed categories in society (e.g., educated vs. uneducated; middle-class vs. working-class; White vs. non-White; foreign vs. native, etc.).

Monolingual Exclusivity and Worldliness

The NSL is the locus of monolingual identity, both collectively and individually. Within this one-nation-one-language-one-culture-one-self view, bilingual and multilingual identities are seen as threats to the unitary structures of language, nation, culture, and self. In response to the undeniable existence of linguistic and cultural diversity, the monolingual exclusivity of the standard positively values bilingualism only in terms of what Heller (1999) has called "parallel bilingualisms", that is, where speakers will ideally move from one monolingual standard norm to another, with none of the practices of variation (such as language mixing or codeswitching) that have been so abundantly documented in actual bilingual discourse, particularly in minority language situations. For FL professionals and society at large, "the preferred route to bilingualism is that of a monolingual speaker of an L1 learning the L2 from zero as an adult, and the ideal goal is eventually to be able to 'pass for' a monolingual speaker of the learned language" (Ortega 1999b, p. 249).[6] The FL classroom is often an ideologically monolingual space in which only the target language is supposed to be used (e.g., a leave-your-English-at-the-door stance) and students will be discouraged from using their L1 (through disapproval, poor grades, and even punishment). Bilingual dictionaries, a fundamental component of FL pedagogy, provide a condensed codification of the lexicon of the two standard languages. Cognates represent the authorized zone of interference between the languages but language mixing is not encouraged. The standard-to-standard move is ideally to be accompanied by the corresponding shift in identity as the student assumes the appropriate cultural norms, generally based on a highly stereotyped view of the native (i.e., foreign) target culture of the idealized native speaker.

These attitudes are prevalent in ideologically monolingual nations, such as France, the United States, and Mexico, where the NSL construct is an important element in citizenship, national identity, and increasingly in global identity. Ideologized monolingualism is linked to the notion of standard language as world language with its assumption of communicative efficiency. Standardness is assumed to impart clarity and efficiency to an utterance as well as bestow membership to speakers in a global community organized around communicative efficiency (see Cameron 2002).

Rethinking Language and Culture Beyond the Native Standard

Attempts to grapple with the ideologized homogeneity of the native standard language-culture in FL education have called for greater inclusion of sociolinguistic variation and cultural diversity. However, variation is generally conceptualized as a "problem" with respect to the unitary assumptions of the native standard language. This section will explore some of the directions that have been proposed for providing a more sociolinguistically and socioculturally complex view of "the language" of FL learning and teaching.

From Variation as Problem to Variation as Resource: Towards a Notion of Bilingual, Multilingual, and Multicompetent Expertise

Valdman (1982, 1992, 2000, and this volume) has advocated the incorporation of variation in FL pedagogy by means of the notion of pedagogical norm, a necessarily partial description of the language for the purposes of teaching, but one firmly grounded in the observable language practices and attitudes of native speakers, as well as to a certain learnability on the part of non-native speakers.[7] The central notion is one of "managing" (*gérer*) variation, rather than eliminating it, through a principled selection of variants to be codified in a pedagogical norm. This position offers a well-formulated riposte to the notion that the native standard language (e.g., standard French) is the only appropriate model for a teachable language and that the inclusion of sociolinguistic variation into the pedagogical object results in "confusion" for the learner, as well as being instructionally "impractical".

A critical approach, which also is compatible with the notion of pedagogical norm, poses the native standard as the problem and recommends the incorporation of variation as a means of managing the problematic native standard. To pastiche Ruíz' (1988) often-quoted language-as-problem/language-as-resource distinction, variation must be seen as a resource for FL education, not as a problem. The "problem" of sociolinguistic variation posed by the native standard language becomes a constellation of sociocultural issues surrounding identity and involving problematic concepts of nativeness in relation to otherness, foreign-ness and non-nativeness.

The concept of pedagogical norm acknowledges the learner's individual experience as a non-native speaker with respect to the native standard, the pedagogical language of the classroom, linguistic variation among "native" speakers of the L2, and the learner's own inevitable departure (canonically described in terms of "error") from all of the preceding language practices. This learner-oriented view is in stark distinction to the native standard language model that tends to support asymmetrical power relations between the authoritative expert native or near-native speaker and the inexpert and subordinated nonnative student-learner. The culture of standardization surrounding the native standard language enters into conflict with learner-centered pedagogies, where learning and teaching concentrate on negotiation between learners and instructors (e.g., Breen 1984) rather than on the imposition of authority and authorized knowledge. Increasingly, learner-centeredness recognizes the empowering and, in critical pedagogical terms, the transformative potential of giving students the tools, the place, and the time to assume more involved and self-directed roles in the process of language learning (Tudor 1996).[8]

Questioning native standard language expertise from the learner's perspective has coincided with valuing the non-native teacher (Medgyes 1992) in second-language education. Rampton (1990) offers "language expertise" as an alternative term to "native speaker".[9] Expertise, explains Rampton, is fairer to both learners and teachers in that using native-speaker competence to set targets and define proficiency leaves the learner "playing a game in which the goal-posts are being perpetually moved by people they cannot often challenge" (p. 99). Expertise, on the other hand, draws attention to the body of knowledge that defines expertise rather than on the person of the expert (i.e., the teacher), such that the notion of expert shifts the emphasis from "who you are" to "what you know" (p. 99). In the context of the monolingual exclusivity of ESL classrooms, Auerbach (1993) questions the "native-speaker fallacy" (p. 25) that privileges native speakers as superior to non-native teachers solely on the basis of knowledge of the target language. Challenging native speaker expertise, notes Auerbach, requires reconceptualizing the notion of expertise in order to legitimate the knowledge and experience of nontraditional experts from the learners' communities.[10]

In FL education, the expertise of the non-native teacher and student resides in their experience as bilingual or multilingual language learners. Cook (1999) argues that going beyond the native speaker is mostly a matter of "adjusting the perspectives about models that underlie language teaching" (p. 204). Language teaching, in Cook's view, should place more emphasis on the actual production of L2 users rather than on an idealized and, arguably, unattainable native speaker model of "the language". Language learning and teaching, then, requires a new attitudinal stance toward language on the part of learners and teachers such that L2 users will be seen, and see themselves, as "successful multicompetent speakers, not failed native speakers" (p.204). Preston's (1989) notion of "competent bilingual" represents another alternative model to the native standard language for the language learner. Rather than attempting to assimilate or accommodate to the native speaker model, competent bilinguals have constructed "efficient but divergent systems for themselves" (p. 83) and are able to maintain effective linguistic integration into the L2 speech community without succumbing to the subtractive assimilation associated with the loss of an earlier linguistic or cultural heritage (p. 85).

For heritage language learners, the questioning of native speaker expertise addresses issues of inclusion, equity and fairness, particularly in terms of greater inclusion of and tolerance for the language practices of bilingual speakers that may not conform to the native standard language (e.g., Spanish). Ortega (1999a) calls for rethinking foreign language education by questioning the elitism attached to the native standard model and realizing the potential of minority students' contribution to a "notion of foreign languages as a resource for all." A critical rethinking of this nature recognizes the value of bilingual students in FL classrooms in ways that can lead to the improvement of FL instruction by sensitizing educators to the needs of bilinguals in FL classrooms and thus fostering greater involvement and motivation among English monolinguals as well as bilingual students. For example, language minority students (e.g., Spanish speakers) can provide English-speaking majority students with enhanced opportunities for language interaction and can create "cultural and linguistic bridges" to communities in the United States (Ortega 1999a, p. 31).

Reimagining FL Education as Cross-Cultural, Multicultural, and Sociocultural Education

While FL instruction seems like the obvious arena for a multilingual and multicultural approach to education, the pedagogical construct of the language has remained mired in the ideology and practice of standardization. The "reality" constructed, reflected, and imposed by the NSL model is that multilingualism and multiculturalism in the FL education is all too often confined to a multiplicity of world standard languages (English, French, Spanish, etc.) rather than more broadly defined notions of language and culture. Accepting "the language" as anything other than standard not only calls into question many of the assumptions educators and learners have concerning what constitutes a language, as well as its instruction and learning, but also raises sociocultural issues surrounding speakers' identity (in individual and collective terms) and their inclusion in (or exclusion from) a given community.

The sociolinguistic issues of monolingualism, bilingualism and multilingualism surrounding the NSL require discussions about multiculturalism in opposition to monoculturalism, "difference" in contrast to "deficit" (see Labov 1972), and diversity versus unity. The question that emerges is "difference from what?" Difference in FL education remains a vague concept that has been relatively poorly defined in terms of the ideologies and sociocultural practices that construct and reflect that difference. The construct of NSL is the ideological "what" that defines difference in many situations.

FL education appeals to the notions of "difference," "diversity" and "multiculturalism" attached to the native standard construct prevalent in American schools and society at large. The native standard language is consistent with the dominant assimilationist ideology: one universal culture and language in which the school's role is to enculturate individual students into that culture and socialize them with the skills needed for success within that culture (La Belle and Ward 1994, p. 25). The myth of the native speaker as the ideal target of FL education is linked to the traditional definition of multiculturalism that seems to include only cultures outside the United States, while marginalizing American immigrant or indigenous language communities (Ortega 1999a). This is supported by the fact that FL programs in higher education place a great emphasis on study abroad experience (Freed 1995) and FL textbooks have traditionally focused on the mainstream culture of the target-language countries, such as Spain and Mexico, with little or no reference to minority linguistic communities in the United States where Spanish is spoken (Ramírez and Hall 1990). The non-standard language practices of these problematically native communities are often stigmatized in FL classrooms resulting in the labeling of some learners as "inadequate" or "underdeveloped" with respect to the idealized native standard speaker norm (Wilberschied and Dassier 1995; Valdés & Geoffrion-Vinci 1998).

The sociocultural implications of sociolinguistic variation have only begun to be discussed in FL pedagogy using a variety of metaphors and in ways that question the dominant ideologies and practices attached to the NSL. Otherness and difference have been framed in terms of border crossing (inspired by Anzaldúa 1987) and language crossing (drawing on Rampton 1995). The metaphor of linguistic travel and migration reconceptualizes the language of bilingual and multilingual speakers in ways that lessen the hegemony of the privileged native speaker through a redefinition and re-appropriation of the term as the "privilege of the non-native speaker" (Kramsch 1997).

Breaking down the bounded native/non-native opposition is basic to the cross-cultural approaches that require educators and learners alike, as von Hoene (1999) proposes, to re-imagine departments of foreign languages and literatures as "sites of cross-cultural difference." Culture crossing is intended to challenge the notion of native standard language-culture as it is realized in foreign language pedagogy's "model of mimesis and assimilation" (p. 26) wherein the subject (i.e. the learner) takes on one culture and discards another. Difference means distancing oneself from the native speaker model that supports one of the unconscious but operative desires of the foreign language classroom: the desire to identify with and to "pass" as the other.

The notion of the "intercultural speaker" (Kramsch 1998a) problematizes the dual nativeness (L1-L2 and C1-C2) imposed by the native standard language-culture model and internalized by speakers. In rejecting the binary logic of modernity associated with the native standard language-culture, intercultural learners inhabit a "critical third place" (Kramsch 1993; also see Lo Bianco et al. 1999) where language study is an initiation into a kind of social practice that is at the boundary of two or more cultures and languages. The metaphor of a third place follows in a rich vein of anthropological and philosophical concern for alterity and its application to educational matters (see Serres 1991).

Exploring the metaphor of the FL classroom as multicultural speech community, Blyth (1995) calls for the foreign-language teaching profession to confront the monolingual ideology of the native standard language and to recognize the "multilingual reality" of students:

> Students are likely to find foreign language courses increasingly irrelevant and anachronistic unless teachers can find ways to address the growing cultural and linguistic diversity inside and outside their classrooms. It is time to "reimagine" our classroom communities. It is time to see students as they are—as multilingual nonnative speakers—and to encourage in them the unique linguistic adaptability that is the hallmark of multilingualism (Blyth 1995, p. 174).

The focus on FL learners' practices as human beings with complex identities in the world challenges the reality constructed through the NSL. In contrast to most current practices of multicultural education that presume an essentializing configuration of identity based on the idea of the Enlightenment subject (Hall 1992),[11] Dolby (2000) finds that identity and difference in the lives of students are constituted not through essentialized and naturalized categories, but instead through practices that have the potential for constant reformation. According to data collected during a one-year ethnographic study of a multiracial high school, students "rewrite" the conventional concept of difference reified in institutionalized identities of race, class and gender (Dolby 2000, p. 905). By recognizing that difference is necessary for the realization of community and identity, critical multiculturalism challenges the "assimilationist multiculturalism" grounded in "the normative liberal culture" that seeks to dissolve difference in the interest of unity within the educational community and beyond (Alemán 2001).

If problematic concepts of identity and difference such as race can be rewritten by students, why not language? Evidence suggests a "dialectic between language and identity" (Ogulnick 2000) where notions of identity are reshaped through language in ways that do not conform to the expected identities attached to native speakers (see Rampton 1995). The metaphor of rewriting the codified and institutionalized native standard language offers tantalizing possibilities for making FL classrooms privileged places in the educational system where nonnative speakers are challenged to reconceptualize the dominant notions of language and culture both in the "native" and "foreign" contexts. The pervasive nature of standardization, as arguably the dominant linguistic ideology in the world, provides abundant content for critical reflection. In diachronic perspective, national standard languages can be contextualized through lessons on the history of the language that do not portray French or Spanish (or other languages) as the glorious culmination and "triumph" of national or international language-cultures. Instead, language must be redefined as a set of complex sociocultural and sociolinguistic phenomena (e.g., bilingualism, language mixing, linguistic ideologies) related to the construction of highly problematic unitary identities (e.g., nation, class, race, Francophonie, Hispanidad). In synchronic terms, the rewriting of language has the potential to draw learners and teachers into content discussions and projects on variation (bilingualism, multilingualism, register, dialectology, etc.) and standardization as a means of situating FL education within local and global contexts abroad and at home.

Creating a Place for Critical Awareness of Language, Culture and Self in FL Education

Rethinking, reimagining, reconceptualizing and rewriting the (non)native standard language demands the incorporation of critical language awareness (CLA) into the FL curriculum and teacher education. I will outline some pedagogical orientations and some practical suggestions for creating an explicit place for CLA (as sociolinguistic, sociocultural, sociohistorical, political, and affective awareness) in FL education as part of a larger critical multicultural and intercultural education.

Language awareness encompasses a wide range of the metalinguistic knowledge and attitudinal stances toward practices of variation. In the last twenty years, the terms "language awareness", "knowledge about language" have come to designate efforts by educators and applied linguists to bring conscious attention to properties of language and language use as a significant element in education (Fairclough 1992, p. 2). Underlying the language awareness and knowledge about language movements is the question of what role the native standard or hyperstandard language plays or should play in pedagogical contexts. Exploring the interplay between identity, normativity and variability in language learning and teaching is fundamentally a process of developing awareness of language, culture, and self.

In FL pedagogy, metalinguistic attention has always been present: from the traditional highly normative focus on (in)correct forms to more recent focus-on-form (FonF), to use Long's (1991) distinction, where accuracy is situated in the context of appropriate and meaningful uses of a putative native speaker norm. Taking the role of metalinguistic knowledge a step further, Valdman (2000) has formulated a compelling argument for an "enlightened normativism" that avoids both the anything-goes-as-long-as-students-are-communicating approach to variation and the traditional focus on forms.[12] By questioning the validity of the idealized native speaker norm, this perspective has brought an explicit focus on sociolinguistic variation into the discussion that had been lacking in the FonF movement. Nevertheless, issues arising from the relationship between variation and normativity (in sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, sociocultural, sociocognitive, affective, pedagogical, and political terms) are far from being resolved in FL education. The basic questions of what constitutes appropriateness (based on whose native speech practices? in which contexts?) and how it is related to the (in)correctness and (in)accuracy attached to the native standard language are very much on the table.

The field of Critical Language Awareness (CLA) marks an attempt to problematize the notions of accuracy and "appropriateness" based on native-speaker norms that reflect only the language practices of a dominant group in society. Fairclough (1992), for example, observes that the theory and language of "appropriateness" coexists within a historically earlier and overtly normative model of variation based on the "correctness" of the standard language. For Fairclough, language awareness in the classroom tends to be uncritical (e.g., Hawkins 1984) because it admonishes students to become aware of their language production in order not to deviate from the standard. A critical awareness of language, then, attempts to situate appropriateness within its historical and ideological context of the native standard. CLA is ultimately a process of creating more inclusive conceptions and practices of language and culture.

The goals of language awareness have been generally linked to the speaker's level of linguistic knowledge and proficiency. For example, language awareness programs and activities are typically different for instructors (assumed to have native or near-native speaker proficiency and knowledge of the language) than for heritage language learners (assumed to have more than a beginning level of oral proficiency and linguistic knowledge, with varying degrees of proficiency in writing), than for non-native learners ranging from beginning (assumed to have limited proficiency and knowledge of the language) to advanced levels. Therefore, it can be hypothesized that there is a scaffolding of language awareness over time as linguistic knowledge and proficiency develop in individual learners through interaction with more expert speakers in a variety of situations. However, as I will discuss, it is a mistake to suppose that explicit language awareness activities are only valuable for the most proficient speakers (i.e., advanced learners, heritage learners and instructors). Whether explicitly directed at students of various levels or at instructors (with an implied positive washback effect on students), critical language awareness projects offer the opportunity for:

1. the exploration (and ultimately the transformation) of speakers' individual and collective beliefs (ideologies, attitudes, biases, prejudices) surrounding language;
2. an appreciation of variation as inherent in language and learning;
3. the questioning of dominant linguistic and cultural knowledge (e.g., native standard language) and how it is constructed and represented;
4. critical reflection on the tension and interplay that exist in language education between creative individual uses of language and conformity to institutionalized norms; and,
5. insight into the sociocultural construction of speakers' identities and "realities" in a multilingual and multicultural world.

Towards Critical Language Awareness for Students

CLA calls for creating a place for the exploration of beliefs and experiences concerning language that all students bring with them from the first moment they set foot in class. While beginning students are not yet knowledgeable in the target language (TL), they all bring with them rich linguistic and sociocultural knowledge as speakers of at least one language. This learner-centeredness (Tudor 1996) is consistent with the tenets of constructivist approaches to learning and teaching that recognize the knowledge that students have, even if it is not that which typically constitutes school knowledge, such as practices of variation attached to non-native speakership.

CLA endeavors to tap into the fundamental experience of multilingualism in the United States within an ideologically monolingual society. In a variety of forms, this is the experience that all students and teachers bring with them to the language classroom. It can be said that there is no one in any region or city of the United States, who has not been touched by the complex historical and on-going process of immigration with its attendant sociolinguistic processes (language acquisition, language loss, language attitudes, etc.). In many parts of the United States, this basic multilingualism is very much part of the students' everyday lives as speakers of languages other than English or as English monolinguals who come into contact with speakers of other languages and non-standard varieties of English. In less diverse areas, the relevancy of multilingualism may take the form of students' family histories. Discussion topics can involve questions such as: What has been your family's experience(s) with language? How do you think that your experience is different from or similar to that of recent immigrants to the United States? Activities treating these issue can involve research and interpretive projects (e.g., "Write the sociolinguistic (auto)biography of your family, or someone else's family, using genealogical data and/or oral interviews with family and with recent immigrants") or more creative formats ("This is how I imagine my grandmother felt when she came to America from..."). These projects can serve as a springboard for lively discussion and reflection on important issues of language and culture.

Radio broadcasts are a rich source of sociolinguistically complex texts that can be used in the FL classroom, even at the beginning level.[13] Villegas Rogers and Medley (2001), for example, present several listening comprehension activities designed to increase students' aural comprehension of Spanish and their awareness of the diversity of Spanish, particularly with respect to the bilingual speech norms found in the United States. In one activity (p. 435), after a brief prelistening activity in which students are asked about different types of information given on the radio, students listen to three different oral texts (e.g., weather and traffic reports, news, commercials) from selected Spanish language radio broadcasts in the United States targeting bilingual audiences. Students are asked to identify each type of text (e.g., "I think that text #1 is a weather report because I heard the word *temperatura*"). Working from a transcript of the oral texts, students prepare a list of English phrases and words, as well as any Spanish cognates, both real (e. g., *comentar* = comment; *yarda*, a loan word from English in place of standard *césped, grama, prado, patio*, etc.) and false (e.g., *aplicar*, a calque formed on English "apply" instead of the standard *solicitar*). This activity provides students with the opportunity to appreciate the lexical richness of Spanish and the communicative value of regional or bilingual variations. Similar activities can be developed using contact varieties of French from Quebec and from hexagonal French texts featuring Anglicisms.

Reflections on contact varieties and bilingual norms reveal important connections between English as a world colonial language (official language of former British colonies, global lingua franca) and French and Spanish as world languages. In beginning classes, canonical projects on linguistic diversity in the Francophone or Hispanophone world can be refocused from the fact that French or Spanish is spoken in a given region or nation, to ask why (standardization, colonization) and how it is spoken there. A critical reframing of the construct of French or Spanish as a world standard language serves to highlight the multilingual context of Spanish and French in the putatively "Spanish-speaking" or "French-speaking" regions of the world (see Mar-Molinero 1997; Ball 1997; Stewart 1999). In what ways is multilingual Peru or Spain a Spanish-speaking nation? How does "French" fit into Canadian or African multilingualism on individual and societal levels?

At the intermediate and advanced levels, students should be exposed and sensitized to variation through genre-based exploration of a variety of oral and written texts. As with all critical language awareness activities, the goal is not to seek-and-correct nonstandard features, but rather to develop an appreciation of variation as inherent in language and learning. With increased language proficiency, advanced and intermediate learners can explore the creation of identities on the margins of native speakership through first-person narratives written by bilingual and multilingual speakers in the TL, a substantial body of which can be found in French (Francophone authors as well as bilinguals in the Hexagon) and Spanish (peninsular regional writers, indigenous Americans, North American Latino authors). Students can be encouraged to creatively play with non-native speech genres in specified contexts. Along these lines, Belz (2002, this volume) devised an experimental activity for students in an advanced FL (German, in this case) course at a North American university in which they were asked to write a brief (300- to 500-word) multilingual text in the target language (TL) and another language or languages. The students were also asked to create a personalized language name (e.g., "Engleutsch") for their new linguistic abilities since beginning their study of the TL. The students' learning experience, Belz found, was enhanced by an increasing awareness of their growing multicompetence, a new state of mind brought about by the learning of another language:

> [the students] conceptualize themselves as multicompetent language users with respect to all languages they know as opposed to deficient L2 communicators with respect to only their L2(s). Moreover, learning German is not viewed as the mere addition of another language to their prior linguistic abilities (see V. Cook, 1992, p. 565); instead, their developing knowledge of German interfaces with their knowledge of English (and other languages), creating new and unique languages and, consequently, prideful and pleasurable reflective modes of expression (Belz 2002, p. 32).

Validating students' awareness as multicompetent speakers challenges the additive/subtractive dichotomy surrounding the native standard language construct. Foreign language learning becomes more than adding the TL standard to the putatively native standard English. In a very profound way, the quality of the educational experience is not defined solely in terms of accuracy and fluency defined by native speaker norms.

From Critical Language Awareness to Critical Language Teaching Awareness

At present, most of the projects to enhance critical awareness of sociolinguistic diversity in FL education have focused on the most knowledgeable and proficient speakers, that is, instructors and teachers, but with the ultimate goal of transforming these educators' attitudes and practices in relation to the variable production of their students. Critical language awareness must be seen as the basis for critical language teaching awareness (see van Lier 1996 and Gebhard & Oprandy 1999 for excellent discussions of language awareness in teacher education and language teaching awareness, respectively).

The goals of critical language awareness and language teaching awareness can be advanced by integrating an applied linguistic and/or sociolinguistic component into TA training and teacher education programs (see Stubbs 1982 for a particularly ambitious sociolinguistics course). Kramsch (2000, p. 322), for example, suggests that traditional teaching methods courses (e.g., basic information on pedagogic methods and activities) could be supplemented by a course on Critical Applied Linguistics (see Pennycook 2001) regarding national language policies and institutional practices. Such a course would contextualize the study of FL's by making students aware of the political and historical context in which these languages have been codified and standardized (see Pennycook 1998, Train 2000), as well as situate the study of standard national languages within the current debates surrounding feminist and postcolonial theory in cultural studies. This course would guide students toward an awareness of the political context of FL study in the United States, such as the link between FL study and patterns of immigration and English dominance.

Discussion of linguistic diversity and inclusion in the FL classroom raises a number of vital questions concerning the role of critical language awareness for educators as a means of questioning the native standard language model. Pérez-Leroux and Glass (2000) present an "inclusive model of foreign language instruction" in distinction to "standard-based models," which select a single regional norm that is then taught to the exclusion of others. Language programs, under an inclusive model, try to expose students to "the richness and variety of the various regional and social norms of the target language" (p. 60).

It is suggested that classroom teachers, program directors and curriculum designers can avoid mistaking issues of language policy (e.g., pedagogical practices that promote a particular dialectal variety) for issues of accuracy in student performance in the target language. The inclusive model addresses basic questions voiced by instructors surrounding how to embrace diversity while enforcing classroom standards. If no one language variety is better than another, does that mean that there are no standards to uphold in the classroom? What is the role of the teacher in the linguistically diverse foreign language classroom? In response, it is acknowledged that the textbook may serve as the "local standard" that defines accuracy in a given language program. The teacher's role is to enhance the richness of language that students are exposed to in the classroom and to promote discussion on language and dialects in order to raise students' and teacher's "linguistic sensitivity" and improve understanding of "linguistic biases." Moreover, the instructor "may educate students about the different varieties of the foreign language and give them freedom to choose which one to identify with" (p. 60).

In order to begin creating sociolinguistically inclusive classrooms, language instructors must confront the ideologies, biases, and assumptions surrounding the native standard model. Pérez-Leroux and Glass (2000) have developed linguistic awareness activities for instructor training designed to increase awareness of linguistic diversity, to challenge the subtractive view of linguistic diversity, and to answer the typical concerns that the inclusive model elicits among instructors. Workshop facilitators present sociolinguistic definitions of language ("Language permits communication...") and dialect ("Everyone speaks a dialect...") leading instructors to realize that linguistic hierarchization is a sociopolitical issue rather than a linguistic measure of a variety's communicative or cognitive value. Reflection and knowledge of this critical sort allows instructors to begin challenging the dominant notion of a-language-as-a-standard-language and the attendant linguistic discrimination based on the devalorization of practices of variation.

The inclusive model opens avenues of reflection that lead to a deepened discussion of the native standard language, standardization and their defining relationship to diversity. Relativizing the authority of the textbook as a local norm does not resolve the question of how or to what extent the textbook reflects a particular norm. Given that codification of the local standard in the textbook implies standardization, it would be useful to explicitly examine how the textbook norm is socially and linguistically situated with respect to language practices existing outside that norm. Awareness activities, then, should also prepare instructors to critically reflect on pedagogical materials by learning to question the standardized linguistic and cultural knowledge represented in textbooks (see Walz 1980; Kramsch 1987; Ramírez & Hall 1990; Wieczorek 1994). In a series of vignettes adapted from real-life situations, Pérez-Leroux and Glass (2000) create a context in which instructors must confront familiar language biases that may produce conflict in Spanish departments. The following activity forces instructors to critically evaluate the hyperstandard language of the textbook in the light of their personal sociolinguistic knowledge:

> Read the vignette, then respond to the question(s) raised after the vignettes. You should take notes and be prepared to share with the rest of the class.
>
> > A TA encounters a rule in a language textbook that explicitly says the use of indicative mood in a particular type of sentence is "incorrect." The instructor, a native speaker, is used to speaking that way.
>
> What should the instructor tell students about this discrepancy? Should he alter his language to conform to the text? (Pérez-Leroux and Glass 2000, p. 62)

Rather than uncritically accept the authority of the text, TAs can be guided towards a critical awareness of their own linguistic production and of the textbook standard. In this case, the TA can learn to situate his linguistic practices (as a native speaker of X variety, or a bilingual speaker who speaks like this because...) with respect to other varieties of Spanish and the pedagogical norm represented in the text. TAs can be encouraged to recognize and exploit discrepancies between the hyperstandard of the text and their own sociolinguistic knowledge as valuable teachable moments to increase their students' awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity. But that does not imply that the TA must resort to the common practice of "verbal hygiene" (Cameron 1995) by which he would completely sanitize his classroom language to conform to the hyperstandardized language of the textbook.[14]

It is a significant step to acknowledge that teachers can use their own dialect, rather than conform to a single native-speaker ideal or variety. However, the assumption remains unchanged: that the teacher's language and the students' production will conform to a defined native-speaker dialect. If that is the case, then who decides what conforms or not and who defines what constitutes a legitimate dialect and what is a non-native idiolect? Is bilingual speech, code-switching and language mixing, for example, acceptable? Why or why not? In exposing students to a variety of possible linguistic identities, it is necessary to ask whether these are stereotyped national, regional, class, gender,

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or racial identities, as well as how they are related to various native speaker norms. Moreover, questions arise as to the types of linguistic and cultural identity, or identities, students are allowed or encouraged to create. Is, for example, a *Chilango* identity considered appropriate or inappropriate for a Spanish class? Or a *Parigot* identity in a French course? Should students be encouraged to create non-native identities? If so, then what are workable non-native identities and how are they related to dominant native standard speaker norms?

This sort of critical discussion, reflection and awareness is relevant to preparing FL educators to address linguistic biases surrounding notions of nativeness, non-nativeness, and near-nativeness in the construction of professional identities. Not all native speech practices (e.g., Canadian or African varieties of French, regional varieties of hexagonal French; a given national or regional Spanish) fall into the acceptable native standard speaker category considered appropriate for a worthy foreign language professor. The situation becomes even more complex when one takes into account the often marginalized position of ethnic-language, or heritage-language, speakers in departments of foreign language (see Valdés 1998; Valdés and Geoffrion-Vinci 1998). Such American-born members of immigrant families have typically developed their linguistic practices in the nonstandard varieties associated with bilingualism and informal contexts of use. Spanish speakers of Mexican American and Puerto Rican backgrounds as well as francophones from northern New England and Louisiana are often considered undesirable in many foreign language departments because they supposedly speak the wrong kind of language, and their class backgrounds clash directly with those of faculty members who were raised in foreign countries (Valdés 1998, p. 154).

Along with native speakership, "near-native proficiency" is a stated criterion for employment on virtually all job announcements for foreign language faculty. However, there is a general haziness as to what constitutes the notion of near-native proficiency and its representative speaker (Valdés 1998; Koike and Liskin-Gasparro 1999). The ultimate attainment of proficiency by the FL language learner is seen in terms of near-native speakers who have mastered a sort of hyperstandard language allowing them to function effectively within the boundaries of an academic and pedagogical discourse characterized by stereotyped notions of (in)correctness and (non)nativeness.[15] Judgments about a given candidate's linguistic abilities are largely impressionistic in that each professor on the search committee carries different criteria of native and near-native-speaker proficiency. Two faculty members may come to a fundamental disagreement as to the fluency and accuracy of a particular candidate (Valdés 1998, p. 157).

Moreover, it has been shown that a lack of consensus exists between the notion of near-native proficiency described by non-native graduate students in Spanish and that held by hiring committees (Koike and Liskin-Gasparro 1999). In light of the characteristic inequality, (in)security and (in)correctness associated with the standard language, it is not surprising that graduate students have been found to suffer from a "sense of insecurity over whether they are 'near-native enough'" (Koike and Liskin-Gasparro 1999, p. 59).

Graduate-student training in FL departments would do well to situate the insecurity of graduate students and, it must be assumed, FL educators in general within the context of a critical perspective on the standardness of academic and pedagogical discourse. A comprehensive training program should prepare future educators for the realities and the ideologies attached to the standard language, such as linguistic (in)security and (in)correctness, that the students will encounter throughout their professional lives. Critical language teaching awareness would counterbalance the dominant insecurity among language educators by presenting the perspective, supported by Medgyes' (1996) observations, that nonnative speakership also confers on teachers a deep sense of empathy with their students and a profound understanding of the useful learner strategies and the fundamental difficulties that are a part of learning another language.

Ultimately, the goal of critical language teaching awareness is to create an institutional space in which to explore and cultivate professional identities for educators that transcend the "native", "near-native" and "non-native" categories. For example, graduate students could design a research project, focusing on one element of the research agenda suggested by Valdés (1998, p. 156), in which they conduct a survey of near-native foreign language professionals (taken from the wide range of lecturers, professors, TAs, or secondary-level teachers) asking about their experiences as nonnative speakers in the profession, their perspectives on the standard of near-native ability, and their views concerning the legitimacy or the necessity of the construct. Apprentice and experienced instructors should be provided with the opportunity to expand their awareness of self through the exploration of (non)nativeness and near-nativeness, as in the following (socio)linguistic autobiography activity adapted from Koike & Liskin-Gasparro (1999, p. 62):

> Personal narrative simultaneously is born out of experience and gives shape to experience. In this sense, narrative and self are inseparable. Self is here broadly understood to be an unfolding reflective awareness of "being-in-the-world," including a sense of one's past and future. We

> come to know ourselves as we use narrative to apprehend experiences and navigate relationships with others (Ochs, Elinor, and Lisa Capps. 1996. "Narrating the Self" Annual Review of Anthropology 25: 19–43).
>
> Please tell the story of your "relationship" with language in the form of an autobiography. How did you come to be a speaker of the languages you speak? In particular, how is your X [French, Spanish, etc.]-speakership related to English and any other language you may have learned? Please write freely, and reflect on the significance of linguistic events in your life rather than simply record them.

Action research projects in the classroom on the use of bilingual communicative strategies, such as code-switching, would permit FL educators to better understand, appreciate, and utilize their unique knowledge and expertise as bilingual, multilingual, even interlingual, speakers (see Chavez, this volume, for such an example of action research). In a recent study exploring the quantity and functional use of L1 (English) by student teachers in French FL classrooms, Macaro (2001) reminds us that no study so far has been able to demonstrate a causal relationship between exclusion of the L1 and improved learning. Therefore, educationalists and practitioners should avoid claims for the "effectiveness of L2 exclusivity" in classrooms where learners share the same L1 (p. 545). However, the suggestion of even the most principled use of English in French class would seem to violate the widely held view among instructors and students in the exclusivity of L2 use in the classroom, an attitude that is consistent with the ideologized monolingualism of the native standard speaker. Educators should become critically aware of their assumptions regarding monolingual exclusivity and explore what Macaro calls the "optimality" for the use of codeswitching by the teacher: when, how and to what ends can native, non-native and near-native teachers most effectively deploy their bilingual or multilingual expertise in the FL classroom?

Perhaps the most basic, most sensitive, and most intractable issue for educators is that of (in)correctness and (in)accuracy. Critical language teaching awareness must address issues of language policy and issues of accuracy in student performance. An understanding of standardization recognizes that accuracy within an institutionalized pedagogical setting is very much embedded in the politics of language education which influence teacher affect and identity. Consistent with a critical perspective on standardization, Valdés (1999) suggests that the entire concept of native-like correctness needs to be examined in the framework of critical language study. But this critical pedagogy, where language teaching is a contested site, will not be simple since language ideologies are deeply instilled in most of us:

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> It is easier to expand the canon and to speak of multiculturalism than to examine and combat our beliefs and emotions surrounding language correctness. Language is what we do as professionals and ultimately it is who we are (p. 47).

For example, Valdés (1999) identifies a certain "language bigotry" that is alive and well in English literature and composition classrooms in colleges and universities in the United States. Instructors routinely question the language skills of non-native speakers, including the problematically (non)native speakers of the non-prestige varieties associated with Spanish-English bilingualism. The discourse practices of many of these speakers are stigmatized as "imperfect". While FL instructors obviously have considerable experience in working with students with varying levels of proficiency in the target language, the fear of turning out "an imperfect product" (Valdés 1999), where perfection and quality equate the native standard language speaker, is no less an issue.

From a critical standpoint, the affective dimension of (in)correctness and (in)accuracy as a component in the identity of language professionals and students does not exist in isolation from larger issues of selection, elitism and inequality in society and education. What goes on in the classroom and in the minds of educators and students cannot be totally dissociated from what Sacks (1999) has called "meritocracy's crooked yardstick" by which increasingly standardized forms of assessment and curriculum benefit an elite group while punishing others. A heightened awareness of the tenets of standardization is an important step in allowing FL educators to participate in the fundamental debates over the shape and role of language and culture in schooling.

Conclusion: Socioculturality as the Core

Language teaching is never and can never be only that, to use Byram's (1998, p. 114) playful and insightful phrase. The inclusion of a greater variety of sociolinguistic input in FL classrooms goes hand in hand with the inclusion of cultural diversity that valorizes bilingual, multilingual, and interlingual perspectives, thus positioning "culture as the core" (Lange et al. 1998) of FL education. The difficult issues raised by a critical awareness of the native standard language offer opportunities for repositioning the object of FL learning and teaching in terms of perspectives that recognize socioculturality as the core.

The sociocultural turn in FL pedagogy and SLA research (see Lantolf 2000) complements critical pedagogy and awareness projects. From a critical sociolinguistic and sociocultural vantage point, "the language" (French, Spanish, etc.) of FL classrooms is a sociocultural artifact produced by standardization. This perspective focuses attention to the critical awareness of the standard language with respect to institutionalized structures, cultural assumptions, and internalized attitudes about language, self, and society. For language-culture learners and educators, the native standard language as a sociocultural phenomenon must be seen in terms of second culture acquisition (Lantolf 1999) "because what is at stake is the way minds, selves, and worlds are (re)organized and (re)constructed" (p. 45).

Rather than viewing standardization as an immutable cultural given, critical awareness offers a much-needed perspective from which teachers and students may question the reality and validity of the native standard language construct. A critical perspective on standardization is consistent with interdisciplinary projects to situate foreign languages in their sociocultural, sociolinguistic, and discursive contexts, such as Swaffar's (1999) redefinition of the FL profession as "a master humanist discipline" whose territory already has been mapped around the *Standards for Foreign Language Learning*:

> Our discipline's goal, therefore, is to enable students to do things with words and to recover what has been done with words, socially, historically, politically, and interpersonally (Swaffar 1999, p. 158).

Yet there seems to be an uneasy silence in the National Foreign Language Standards with respect to the native standard language construct (Train 2002), which has not been explicitly addressed in either the Standards or the discussions surrounding them (see Philips and Terry 1999).

Language teachers need to consider how awareness and attitude are important dimensions of foreign language work. A component of intercultural competence (Fantini 1999) is a Freirean (Freire 1970) sense of awareness as critical consciousness (*concientização*) as the most important task of education. Awareness, then, is always self-awareness that involves exploring, experimenting, and experiencing. But awareness of selfhood is also critically contextualized in a social situation and, therefore, potentially transformative of the self and of one's relation to others, and leads to dealing critically and creatively with reality and fantasy (Fantini 1999, pp. 184–185).

Critical language awareness is at the same time what Kramsch (1998b) has called "social awareness across cultures". From this perspective, standardization must be seen as a powerful sociocultural force that shapes, arguably distorts, the varying "discourse worlds" (Edmondson 1985) of both FL learners and the putatively native speakers in the collective and individual construction of meaning, or in Kramsch's words, culture "dialogically created through language in discourse" (1998b, p. 27). This view challenges the native standard speaker model in a profound way:

> Our purpose in teaching culture through language is not to make our students into little French or little Germans, but in making them understand why the speakers of two different languages act and react the way they do, whether in fictional texts or in social encounters, and what the consequences of these insights may mean for the learner.
>
> We can ask learners to temporarily play a role that is not theirs, think thoughts that they don't usually think. Ultimately, however, they will have to decide how they wish to shape this culture of the third kind, that is neither the one they grew up with, nor the one they are invited to enter. Social awareness goes hand in hand with social responsibility both vis-à-vis others and vis-à-vis oneself (Kramsch 1998b, p. 27).

Social responsibility then does not necessarily mean accepting uncritically the dominant ideology of the native standard language.[2] Social awareness and responsibility also imply a whole range of affective and cultural stances on the part of learners and educators with respect to these constructs. It must be assumed that there is the full spectrum of responses to the unitary constructs of language and culture, ranging anywhere from oppositional identities, to acquiescence, to enthusiastic assimilation to the dominant norms—within a single classroom, even within a single learner over a lifetime. A critical culture of the FL classroom grounded in awareness is necessarily learner-centered in that accurate forms, appropriate uses, appropriate identities, standardized goals and outcomes must respect, rather than merely seek to control the variable nature of the language-culture acquisition process from one learner to the next.

Notes

1. Contributions from diverse research traditions (including sociolinguistics, anthropology, sociology, education, and cultural theory) have problematized the notion of the idealized native standard speaker (see Bakhtin 1981; Valdman 1982; Milroy and Milroy 1985; Crowley 1989, 1990; Medgyes 1992; Lodge 1993; Rampton 1990, 1995; Blyth 1995; Wiley and Luke 1996; Kramsch 1997; Silverstein 1996; Dasgupta 1998; Ortega 1999b; Valdés 1998, 1999; Milroy 2001).
2. Romaine succinctly sums up this view:

   > Standardization is not an inherent, but rather an acquired or deliberately and artificially imposed characteristic. Standard languages do not arise via a "natural" course of linguistic evolution or suddenly spring into existence. They are created by conscious and deliberate planning. (Romaine 1994, p. 84)

According to the Haugen's (1966) widely-used terminology (also see Preston 1989, Lodge 1993), this complex sociolinguistic process involves the acceptance of a norm that is selected from a diversity of varieties, codified into a formal unitary construct (i.e., "the French language," "the Spanish language") and elaborated to fulfill a variety of social functions, including education.

3. The ideological role of standard languages in the creation of modern national communities (i.e., nation-states) has been well documented, particularly by applied sociolinguists (e.g., Garvin and Mathiot 1968, Haugen 1966, Stewart 1968) working in the field of language planning. More recently, research on standardization (Milroy and Milroy 1985; Joseph 1987; Crowley 1989; Lodge 1993) has taken a more critical, post-modern stance toward the ideological premise of national unity and the socioeconomic and political construct that Etienne Balibar (2001) has named *la forme nation*.

4. Davies (1991) presents a very thoughtful restatement of this dominant ideology in acknowledging that although the "flesh and blood" existence of the native speaker is a myth, it is "a useful myth" (p. 167) insofar as "for learners of second languages the native speaker must represent a model and a goal" (p. 165). In order to make such a claim, the distinction must be drawn between the idealized native speaker (i.e., the myth) and the sociocultural "reality" of the native speaker as a component in "all majority-minority power relations", such that

> ...we define minorities negatively against majorities which themselves we may not be able to define. To be a native speaker means not being a non-native speaker. (Davies 1991, pp. 166–67)

5. The appraisal by learners of the second-language learning situation with its limited range of stimuli may be related to affective stances (i.e., based on appraisal of stimuli) toward language learning and student motivation to acquire the language (see Schumann 1999). Given the contrast between the variability in students' learnings styles and the relative invariability of the hyperstandard, one can speculate as to whether "the language" of the foreign language class adversely affects student motivation to or interest in learning the language. If FL enrollment statistics are any indication of learner interest, then it would seem that for most learners, and would-be learners, the unfortunate reaction to the foreign language is to avoid learning it by never electing to take a foreign language or limiting their exposure to the minimum requirements or, in some cases, by engaging in a form of active resistance such as "not-learning", to use Kohl's (1991) apt expression. Although I know of no research to support a direct causal link between the hyperstandard language of the foreign language class and limited student enrollments, the fact remains that in 1990 only about 6% of American public high school students took more than 2 years of a foreign language before graduation (Draper 1991).

6. This view of bilingualism is part of a general devalorization of immigrant perspectives and, by extension bilingualism in terms of "subtractive

assimiliation" (Cummins 1984) in the broader educational context of "subtractive schooling" of minority language speakers (Valenzuela 1999). The assimilationist stance of the native standard language has also been linked to its officialization through legislative and administrative acts (e.g., French as French national language, "English Only" movement in the United States) (Lo Bianco 1999). Standardization is usually a prerequisite or a result of officialization (Kloss 1986). Standardization acts upon the choice of language (i. e., the native standard) and also posits the exclusivity of that language. As Wiley and Lukes (1996) note, the standard language ideology positions speakers of different varieties of the same language within a social hierarchy, while the complementary linguistic ideology of English monolingualism frames policy issues in an "immigrant paradigm in order to portray language diversity as an alien and divisive force" (p. 511). These linguistic ideologies are connected to other social ideologies related to individualism and social mobility through education (Wiley and Lukes 1996).

7. For Valdman, the pedagogical norm should be codified according to three series of criteria, sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic (or *acquisitionnels*), and sociopsychological (or *épilinguistiques*). The sociolinguistic criteria require the pedagogical norm to reflect the actual, observable, and "variable production of *targeted* native speakers in authentic communicative situations" (Valdman 1992, p. 84). On the psycholinguistic level of language acquisition, the pedagogical norm should incorporate the variants that are the easiest to acquire at any given stage in the acquisition process. In sociopsychological terms, the variants selected for the pedagogical norm should take into account the attitudes of the target linguistic community. It is assumed, for example, that native speakers would be shocked by the deletion of the negative morpheme *ne* by the non-native learner who is assumed to have learned French in a formal instructional setting (Valdman 2000). The pedagogical norm would foster the ability to reflect on the attitudes and expectations of learners and native speakers about language. It is assumed that awareness on the part of students for native speaker attitudes toward given variants would be guided by the notion of linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1982) by which the learning of the target language will be more profitable when it leads to the appropriation by the learner of the linguistic varieties most valued by the members of the targeted linguistic community (Valdman 2000).

8. The concept of "relational knowing" (Gallego, Hollingsworth, and Whitenack 2001) provides a way to view students' and educators' relations with others as reflections of the larger cultures of which they are members, as well as opportunities to reconstruct those cultures through the educational reform.

9. Rejecting the essentialism of nativeness, Rampton asserts that expertise has the following significant advantages over nativeness as metaphor for considering language proficiency:

> 1. Experts do not have to feel close to, or identify with, what they know a lot about.
> 2. Expertise is learned, not fixed or innate.
> 3. Expertise is relative. One person's expert is another person's fool.
> 4. Expertise is partial. People can be expert in several fields, but they are never omniscient.
> 5. Expertise is achieved through a process of certification, in which the expert is judged by other people using standards of assessment that can be reviewed, disputed, or challenged. There is a healthy tradition of challenging the 'experts' (1990, p. 99).

10. In the case of ESL, teachers who are nonnative speakers of English may possess qualifications that the native speakers may not, such as insight into the experience of acquiring the second language and the experience as a newcomer to the United States, in addition to specialized teacher training. Auerbach recounts a situation where having actually lived these realities enabled an immigrant teacher to tap into what was meaningful and significant for immigrant students and make connections that were otherwise not possible for the native speaker teacher:

> For example, I once spent many hours struggling to elicit discussion about housing issues from a class of Haitian learners while one of my students, a Central American undergraduate with considerably less "professional knowledge," was able, with seeming ease, to instantly ignite animated discussion of the same topic just by sharing an anecdote from her own life dealing with an exploitative landlord. Her lived experience was more powerful than my expertise in unlocking the doors to communicative interaction (Auerbach 1993, p. 26).

11. According to this paradigm, groups (divided by race, ethnicity, class, or other categories and designated as distinct and separate) are assumed to have an identity formed through "some authentic common origin or structure of experience" (Grossberg 1994) and to possess characteristics that are understood as inherent (though not necessarily biological). Finding one's "authentic" self, or the core of one's identity, is a central preoccupation both inside and outside the classroom (Dolby 2000, p. 899).

12. Valdman (2000) characterizes *normativisme éclairé* as a tolerant but realistic attitude toward linguistic variation in the face of the reality imposed by the linguistic ideology of the native standard. This moderate position implies a certain professional responsibility on the part of FL educators to acknowledge the stigmatization by dominant groups of non-standard variants, which means that pedagogical norms must conform, at least to some degree, to the sociocultural realities imposed by the ideology of the native standard.

13. Particularly in beginning level classes, it is useful to keep in mind the important distinction between the active vocabulary (or output) and the receptive ability of students to understand a variety (see Liceras, Carballo, & Droege 1994–95). Exposing students to practices of variation does not imply that students must be able to produce every lexical item or syntactic structure that they encounter in authentic speech.

14. In their study of the Spanish program at a Canadian university, Liceras, Carballo, and Droege (1994–95) found that 78% of native speaker professors report using a "variedad estándar general" that eliminates the specific traits of the professor's regional or national variety (p. 301).

15. Based on survey data from 28 colleges and universities, Koike and Liskin-Gasparro (1999) conclude that the typical search committee seeks a candidate who fits the following profile of near-native speakership:

> someone who speaks fluent, virtually error-free Spanish with good-to-excellent pronunciation and no marked foreign or regional accent and who would have no trouble lecturing and leading discussions exclusively in Spanish (p. 59).

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The Native Speaker, the Student, and Woody Allen: Examining Traditional Roles in the Foreign Language Classroom

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In *Radio Days*, Woody Allen's nostalgic look at 1940s New York and the radio's ubiquitous presence in people's public and private lives, Sally (aka Mia Farrow), a cigar girl working at a fashionable night club, is trying to ascend the social ladder. Her ambition is to become a radio star just like those to whom she sells her merchandise, and although, according to the narrator, she has successfully slept her way into several modest commercials, something seems to keep her from joining those few who mesmerize audiences with their sonorous voices. She decides to take diction lessons. In the scene following her momentous resolution, we witness a teacher-centered classroom filled with a medley of eager students who, quiet and attentive, hang on the instructor's words to heed the full palatal range of his utterance: "Hark, I hear the canons roar; is it the king approaching?" Language teachers are, of course, all too familiar with this scenario in which the student or students repeat what the instructor has asked them to reproduce and pronounce—correctly. In this scene, the students repeat the phrase one after the other without interruption by their teacher until it is Sally's turn. Unfortunately, Sally is not only plagued by an overpowering Brooklyn accent but also by a squeaky and feeble voice. Intently, she tries to copy her teacher's expressive and firm performance; her hands gesture as if to give the words the needed profundity, but in vain. In mid-quote, the instructor interrupts her with thinly veiled impatience: "The canons rooooar, the canons rooooar!" And although Sally tries again, her second attempt yields the opposite result as her voice becomes frantic, even uncontrollable, and her accent

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heavier, leaving an odd mix of desperation and puzzlement on her face. Allen's somber voice-over reminds us that "her natural speech was a great obstacle to get over." Miraculously, however, and with extensive practice, Sally eventually maneuvers her vocal chords to such an extent that her voice is rendered at least an octave below her usual range, her pronunciation becomes impeccable, and she is able to deliver that soft velvety sheen of the seasoned radio announcer that catapults her to the top. In a split-second cut we watch her evolve from practicing her vowels in front of the bathroom mirror to becoming Sally White and her "Gay White Way," a radio star and woman of some importance who broadcasts her programs with suave elegance and professional aplomb.

Clearly, the diction lessons were pivotal to her success in procuring the desired sociolect, to hit the right register, and the instructor should take credit for teaching her how to emulate his fine example. Later in the movie, however, we discover that Sally White has simply usurped Sally, the cigar girl. In a momentary lapse and prompted by a question about her past, Sally's voice squeals at her attentive escort, complete with her working class accent, leaving an expression of puzzlement on *his* face. Finally and irreversibly, the movie audience knows that she is, after all, just playing a role in a group in which she is not a native.

In the following I would like to take Sally's role-play as an incentive to examine the language student whom we have traditionally asked to emulate and copy the native speaker and to discuss the roles that we ask our students to play. Conversely, I will also present the changing paradigm of the native speaker and her or his role inside and outside the classroom. A discussion of the relevant literature will show that several scholars are beginning to challenge the monolithic view of the native speaker as the model to which the language student has to aspire. In fact, Paikeday (1985) has gone so far as to declare that the native speaker is dead. Though the paradigm of the native speaker is undergoing a change across the language fields, I will limit myself to the specific area of teaching German language and culture to stay within the confines of this paper, although, of course, the questions raised may apply to other languages and cultures as well. Given the changing demographics of the German-speaking countries we are studying, the assorted backgrounds of our students, and an increasing range of questions asking "what or who is German?," "to whom does the German language belong?," and "what is the value of the German language?," we are today facing a more diverse and perhaps more contested approach to the teacher-learner transmission of language. Part of this approach focuses on issues of globalization, cultural diversification, and interdisciplinarity in conjunction with new language teaching methods, asking the native speaker not only to pose as a linguistic authority but also as the cultural expert. By questioning this conflation, I will argue for a replacement of the native speaker paradigm with what I would call the *cultural informant* who is equipped with advanced-superior proficiency and high grammatical competence.

Sally and the Native Speaker

The Sally White model of the student who copies his or her teacher's example to play the necessary or desired role in the target language community or group returns us to past methods of language instruction such as the audio-lingual method. We have witnessed a transmission-oriented class that does not question the authority of the teacher and that does not encourage individual exploration or learning in teams. In fact, the teacher becomes the prestige model, according to Alan Davies (Davies 1991, p.6), who reminds us to

> Consider the institutionalised activities of publishing and examining in the written language and of selecting radio and television news readers/casters in the spoken. In such cases there is compelling social consensus in favour of a model type being used. It is also the case that a particular type of native speaker (or native speaker-like non-native speaker) is chosen, the prestige model.

With the switch from audiolingualism to communicative language teaching, we have begun to question the roles played in the classroom. As James F. Lee and Bill VanPatten (Lee and VanPatten 1995, p.3) put it

> By roles, we mean the ways in which instructors and students view their jobs in the classroom. What do instructors do and why do they do it? Likewise, why do students do what they do? In our experience as both instructors and educators of teachers, we find that instructors must be conscious of—and then must understand—the roles played out in classrooms if language teaching is to be truly communicative.

In order to change the role of the student from passive recipient to active learner, Lee and VanPatten claim that the instructor needs to change her or his role from expert or linguistic disciplinarian to resource person or architect "who designs and plans but is not responsible for the final product." Students, in turn, become "builders" or "coworkers" (Lee and VanPatten 1995, p. 16). Since both audiolingualism and communicative language teaching are methods of how to use a language or how to build something, to stay with Lee's and

VanPatten's metaphor, are we also asking what it is that we are building? In other words, does how we get to a certain goal inform us critically about the goal we are trying to achieve, which is, in most cases, the prestige model?

As Claire Kramsch (Kramsch 1997, p. 359) has pointed out, "today foreign language students are expected to emulate the communicative skills of native speakers." Foreign language study, in turn, "acquires credibility and legitimation from being backed by national communities of native speakers, who set the standards for the use of their national languages..." (p. 359). At a time when national communities experience demographic changes that disrupt a homogeneous notion of, for example, Germany, France and other nations that previously identified themselves as non-immigrant nations, we have to ask what these standards are supposed to be, who sets them, and who they are supposed to serve. Correspondingly, for those of us teaching languages, we should want to know who transmits these standards set by the national community and whether it is in our students' best interest—be it professional or personal—to follow them. After all, now that we have encouraged these students to help build the final product within the parameters of their roles in the classroom and given their own varying identities and backgrounds, they may have very diverse interests in how to use this product. In posing these questions we may find that, although we have begun to change our methods of instruction, we still adhere to the language ideology of the national community we are trying to emulate as the prestige model.

Let's take a closer look at how the national community views its own language, in this case Germany. Csaba Földes (Földes 2000, p. 275), for example, detects a "Sprachilloyalität," a lack of loyalty to one's language, with a majority of "Deutschmuttersprachler," [those whose mother tongue is German] citing, among other issues, what he calls today's "fatale[ ] Anglisierung des Deutschen," [disastrous anglicization of German]. So who are "the Germans" today and how are "they" represented in our classrooms?[2] If we look at the history of textbook composition, especially but not exclusively for first-year language instruction, I would argue that our students have been confronted with a policy of exclusion rather than inclusion and diversity, with, yet again, the prestige model looming in the background. Most instructors of German aim to teach German Studies and speak to the interdisciplinarity of German cultures and languages; yet we teach primarily the white, falsely homogenous culture of former West Germany, with the occasional chapter on "Ausländer," "Frauen," "Die Schweiz," and "Österreich" as quick referrals to other forms of German-speaking culture. It is alarming that German language teaching has often embraced the political and cultural ideologies of West Germany—and its allies—while denying other German-speaking areas their own cultures that are expressed by the German language. Given restrictions of time and material, of course, we have to exclude issues and information in order to make the subject matter manageable for our students, and I agree with Földes stressing "dass die in den Texten dargebotenen ausgewählten Inhalte den Interessen und Bedürfnissen der Zielgruppe entsprechen und zur Reflexion über die Verhältnisse im fremden und im eigenen Land anregen" [that the selected topics presented in the texts relate to the interests and demands of the target group and stimulate reflection on the conditions in the foreign country as well as in one's own country] (Földes 2000, p. 282). Since these "Verhältnisse" or conditions vary significantly depending on class, ethnic background, gender, and nationality, in German-speaking countries as well as in the United States, how are we to talk about and represent them in the classroom? More importantly, how can the active learner participate as a co-builder of communicative and cultural proficiency tasks in the target language and culture without a rather vexed perspective on what the final product might be?

Cecilia and the Cultural Informant

At this point and in order to explore possible new roles in the classroom, I would like to introduce another of Woody Allen's characters, namely Tom Baxter from the movie within the movie, *The Purple Rose of Cairo*. In this film the waitress Cecilia (aka Mia Farrow), frequently surrenders to the paradisiacal world of the movies to escape the harsh realities of Depression Era life and the frustrations of her marriage. In particular, *The Purple Rose of Cairo*, a romantic comedy featuring the dapper and adventurous Tom Baxter, explorer of Egypt, has enchanted her. During one of the screenings, Baxter suddenly interrupts a scene with his fellow sophisticated characters, looks into the audience, declares that he is smitten with Cecilia following her repeated visits to the theater, and steps off the screen to be with her. For Cecilia a dream has come true, yet, she is obliged to tell her perfect man that things work a bit differently in the real world. Although Baxter masters the discourse of his own character with great finesse, he has to learn the practical and communicative skills that allow him to operate in Cecilia's working class world. What follows are strikingly poignant episodes in which Cecilia occasionally has to remind Baxter that he is not real, that his discourse is "movie talk" and "that's not how it happens here!" All Tom Baxter wants is to be free, free from the confines of the movie screen and from the parameters of his character—and to be with Cecilia who will show him all he has to learn.

Tom Baxter's urgent wish for freedom, however, jeopardizes the career of his model, namely the ambitious actor Gil Shephard. In trying to hunt down his freewheeling creation Shephard runs into Cecilia who, with the sweet naiveté that so wonderfully matches Tom Baxter's, leads him to the escapee. The ensuing scene could be described as a student gone bad—or free—, with the prestige model angrily trying to legitimize his claim to his creation. Despite Cecilia's previous insistence that Baxter "loves to be free, he is having the time of his life," Shephard maintains that the gulf between what is real and not real is insurmountable, and something Baxter will not be able to overcome. Upon Baxter's own confident assessment that "I can learn to be real, it comes naturally to me," Shephard simply retorts: "You can't learn to be real, it's like learning to be a midget, it's not a thing you can learn. Some of us are real, some of us are not!" After rebutting Shephard who, fuming, plans to secure the help of the police in order to reign in his creation, Baxter, in just a few words, proceeds to adopt Cecilia as his new model for the real world: "I said I was going to learn about the real world with you: show me!" Evidently, the prestige model of the native speaker, Gil Shephard, has lost its legitimacy here, making the copy—Baxter—more real than its original. Baxter rebels against the prestige model by changing from the model's unquestioning student into one who is largely inexperienced but resolutely inquisitive and to some degree self-directed. This student is more real than the prestige model because, in his empathy, curiosity, and open-mindedness (or naivité), his wish to enter Cecilia's world and leave Shephard's bespeaks the need for a greater variety of the language and culture of which the prestige model is but one example. Cecilia turns into another model, another "native speaker," but she will be just one of many and as such takes on the role of a cultural informant who relinquishes any claim to representing a prestige model. In a sense, her student is becoming downwardly mobile to widen his range of cultural and linguistic expertise.

If I thus suggest a new definition of the native speaker, I argue, based on some of my previous observations and the Tom Baxter model that we regularly employ a flawed concept that still dominates our discourse in language acquisition. Although the native speaker paradigm itself is not that old,[3] it is surprising how firmly established it has become in foreign language acquisition and applied linguistics. According to Kramsch, only since 1985 and following the "socio-cultural turn" in Second Language Acquisition have "the growing number of multilingual, multicultural speakers around the world ... continued to raise doubts about the validity of the native speaker model for foreign language study" (Kramsch 1997, p. 362). These doubts are voiced either by suggesting new definitions of how a speaker relates to her or his mother tongue, with M.B.H. Rampton (Rampton 1990, p. 100) suggesting that we use the term's inheritance and affiliation to pay "attention to language education as a social activity" or by linguists like Noam Chomsky (Chomsky 1985, p. 58) who takes a universalist stance to proclaim that "a language is a system L-s, it is the steady state attained by the language organ. And everyone is a native speaker of the particular L-s that that person has grown in his/her mind/brain." These positions and most in between do not help us to understand the complexity of the native speaker paradigm in foreign language teaching after the socio-cultural turn, however. As I pointed out at the beginning, the native speaker today poses as a mixture of linguistic authority and cultural expert. Understandably, linguists and cultural theorists will approach this paradigm from different perspectives and with varying rationales and methods, but how are those of us in foreign language teaching supposed to negotiate its meanings and flaws? According to Alan Davies, "native speaker means having language X as one's mother tongue, as one's first language, as one's dominant language, as one's home language" (Davies 1991, p. 17). Can we necessarily assume that the same is true if we replace language with culture? Wouldn't we expect the same competence for both so that the native speaker turns into the model for the students' language and cultural behavior? Obviously, this cannot be the case, and Tom Baxter's "show me!" relegates the native speaker to the particular areas of knowledge, experience, or expertise that he or she has been able to cultivate, based on his or her personal background and individual training.

To limit the expectations for the native speaker to which both native and nonnative speakers have contributed, and to join those who dispute the paradigm's supremacy for today's foreign language classroom, I suggest that we use the term "cultural informant." This term embraces both the nonnative and the native speaker without enforcing a dichotomous constellation; it precludes anticipation of complete knowledge and expertise; it dismisses the questionable prevalence of birth and territory by eliminating "native;" and it allows for aspects of social variation such as gender, class, and ethnicity that may find expression in language. Despite possible negative connotations of the word "informant," I have in mind the distinctly general and simple meaning of "one who gives information." Who are these informants and what makes them knowledgeable about culture and language? All of us would qualify as cultural informants for one culture or another, depending on our linguistic, social, and historical involvement within that culture. However, the points of view, resources, experiences, and recommendations we espouse depend entirely on the multitudinous facets of our personal background. Since foreign language teaching after the socio-cultural turn relies on the interrelationships of language and culture, the cultural informant would show communicative, that is, "historical, practical, effective, and contextual" competence (Davies 1991, p. 100) and grammatical proficiency, but would not have to represent the prestige model in sociolect or register.

Without doubt, most cultural informants, by way of education, will display cultural and linguistic characteristics of the middle class register, and foreign language learning will remain within certain general parameters. But these parameters do not have to exclude other linguistic or cultural registers that could become part of the classroom as well, in fact, the architectural process of communicative language learning and gaining cultural proficiency could be greatly enriched by adding other, equally representative registers. Of course, many a teacher would welcome the resources to parade a diverse group of representatives from the target culture in front of his or her students, exposing them to differences in perspectives based on age, class, ethnicity, gender and so forth. What remains after any such presentation, either via immersion or presentation, however, are the teacher and the class. The latter will most likely continue to look upon the teacher as a role model for a native-speaker-like performance because it is the teacher who prescribes the parameters for the object to be built, that is, the language product that is somehow tied to the target culture. When the teacher as cultural informant refers to her or his cultural and linguistic experience as but one amongst many, students are obliged to take greater initiative to investigate the language and culture they are asked to learn. The more learners begin to realize the complexities of both language and culture, the more likely they are to become active learners and co-builders of the classroom product. In that sense, it is not only the Tom Baxter student model that becomes free; it is also the native or nonnative speaker turned cultural informant who abandons the prestige model to find new roles and new ways of expression in the classroom and beyond.

Practical Applications of the Cultural Informant

How can we begin to apply the concept of the cultural informant practically and how may it influence the way we teach, design our courses, and prepare future teachers? In the following I will suggest uses for the cultural informant within the lower levels of language instruction; however, the application of the term can and should reach beyond that not in order to eliminate the native speaker as prestige model but to integrate it into the many possible ways of expression in a foreign language and culture.

The beginning language student usually encounters the teacher, a textbook plus ancillaries, and a certain number of fellow beginning students. Especially during the first year, most students look to the teacher and his or her use and presentation of the textbook materials to build a certain expertise in the foreign language. No matter how communicative and "architecturally" innovative the classroom atmosphere, the teacher will most likely present the unquestionable authority on the subject matter and thus function as the "native speaker" or the one closest to "native speech and culture." The result is often what Paulette (Moeller) Marisi has called "textbookish" language, partly because textbookishness corresponds to success in traditional testing situations (Marisi 1994, p. 518). With the teacher as cultural informant, we can begin to introduce a more "Baxterian" way of language learning by encouraging students to

- view the teacher/cultural informant as a basic resource
- change the one-way direction of information within the classroom to build a network of learning and exchange
- go beyond the classroom to embrace the wider university and local community by seeking other cultural informants' "building blocks" for their own language and culture product

Two phases are necessary to implement this approach.[4] Phase 1 will sensitize students to the fact that their teacher—native speaker or not—is, after all, "just" a cultural informant without encyclopedic knowledge on either language or culture. A look at one's own culture and state may facilitate such an understanding. Even if all students in a particular class are from the same state, they should be responsible for presenting "their" part of the state, "their" local culture, "their" way of speaking. If some time on the lower level has to be sacrificed to accommodate these presentations in English, so be it. This exercise may help students better understand that whenever they ask their teacher for information, however general or specific, all the teacher can do is function as the informant, especially with sociolinguistic and cultural questions. Phase 1 should also include the integration of easily accessible cultural informants (graduate students, faculty, foreign students, a local organization or business connected to the target culture, etc.) whom students should approach with the same questions. The answers contribute to the classroom learning in that students and teacher create a network of learning together.

Phase 2 will establish a network of regional experts (individuals or groups) who are to gather information on a particular region and dialect or social group that becomes part of the classroom experience.

Here, the teacher refers students to resources such as the Internet and to as many cultural informants as possible who are representatives of this region or who have lived in or visited this region. This information gathering should rotate, so that students highlight different aspects of each region and so that every student becomes an expert on a specific topic within a particular region. Ideally, the gathering and presenting of information will be coordinated between classes on the same language level to curb the potentially excessive and unreasonable use of cultural informants, to foster exchange between a larger number of language students, and to widen the net of learning and team-work. The classroom product will be one of many "builders" who —by inviting a diverse group to "show them"—have added linguistic and cultural variety to a learning experience that is based on teamwork, facilitation, and exploration.

The course design has to change accordingly. Bound by the structure of a beginning or intermediate textbook, courses, especially those taught by new TAs, frequently follow a strict trajectory of learning in order to provide students with a basic introduction to the language and culture and to pave a manageable path for the teacher. Undoubtedly, textbooks will remain an important resource. However, they are not interactive and cannot be part of a network of learning. I would suggest that we integrate more project work into our courses and to emphasize the two C's of Connections and Communities to enable the exploration of language and culture with the help of cultural informants. As a result, courses could show more of a waxing and waning pattern that would reflect a particular emphasis on one topic or project rather than trying to reserve equal amounts of time for every chapter or topic. For example, after the first two weeks of a class, students could choose which topics or projects they would like to emphasize and research more intensely. The teacher, in turn, would provide additional vocabulary and grammar functions to deepen the students' understanding and proficiency in this area. If other chapters or topics are not adequately covered it may not result in a diminished active lexis or expertise in grammar, but simply in a slightly different accentuation of what the textbook has to offer. For the language program coordinator this presents little more than a difference in the time frame of each coordinated class, depending on the students' interests. Obviously, these interests and the work involved should be reflected in how we assess the students' efforts and the effectiveness of the network of exchange. Traditional testing of grammar functions and basic skills will remain essential. But a mixing of assessments, including portfolios, role-plays, performances, interviews, posters, and presentations, to name just a few, could represent the variety of learning and exploration that are part of each student's need for self-expression and demonstration of skills and proficiencies.

Finally, how can the concept of the cultural informant inspire the training of future teachers? We are all familiar with the MLA job descriptions that require native or near-native language ability of those who apply for any teaching position in foreign languages. Whereas graduate students who are native speakers may be relieved, those of a different native tongue may find the competition against native speakers at least daunting. I contend that we level the two groups by designating them both as cultural informants. Teaching abilities have no connection to language expertise, and a native speaker can be a poor teacher while the nonnative speaker produces a marvelously proficient student. They are and will be cultural informants whose co-construction of the classroom product will depend heavily on how they use and develop their individual knowledge in the classroom. It is necessary that TAs be introduced to the range and possibilities of this knowledge early without either feeling self-conscious about what they don't know or being overly confident in the assessment of their expertise. Team-work and the construction of a network of exchange is of equal importance for this group.

Accordingly, I would suggest that TAs be sensitized either in the first TA-workshop or their Methods class or both to their role as cultural informant. Often, native speakers are unaware of the weight their opinions and answers carry in a classroom of beginning students for whom the TA is usually the only access to the target culture. As a cultural informant they should continue to present their observations and share their experiences, while emphasizing the personal nature of the observations and experiences. Consequently, TAs should be encouraged to use each other as cultural informants in the classroom and beyond to build their own network of exchange. Even in the best of circumstances, TAs who are asked to visit each other's classes will not always do so voluntarily, and, for different reasons, they will not always approach each other for help or information. However, as cultural informants outside the target culture, they need to rely on each other for the variety of experiences and skills that make up the complexity of the culture and language they are to teach. Ideally, the application of cultural informant will enable TAs to become more reflective teachers, to continue their education in the target culture, and to professionalize their team-work.

Notes

1. In the national community of Germany, sociolinguists have focused specifically on the distinct "Kommunikationsgemeinschaften" [communities of

communication] of former East and West Germany. According to Patrick Stevenson (Stevenson 1997, p. 231), many people after the fall of the Berlin Wall "felt that they could identify whether particular radio programmes had been broadcast from the GDR or from West Berlin, basing their judgements on the speakers' speech styles. The same applies to written texts." The discourses and language practices of former West Germans remain dominant, however, as the two following examples show. Right after the fall of the Wall, Helen Kelly-Holmes (Kelly-Holmes 2000, p. 94) notes, "Reimut Vogel, Director of the well-known advertising agency, LOGO FCA, admitted that it had never even occurred to him and his advertising team that east Germans would think or speak differently and he was genuinely shocked at their inability or unwillingness to deal with the discourse." In contrast, easterners are slowly adopting western language ideologies, according to Jennifer Dailey-O'Cain (Dailey-O'Cain 2000, p. 258), who has found that, in 1994, "easterners and westerners had two competing language ideologies, with westerners contending that the most 'correct' German is spoken in Hanover and easterners contending that it is spoken in the whole of northern Germany. One year later, ... there is a strong new tendency for easterners to adopt the western ideology that the most 'correct' German is spoken in Hanover. Yet this tendency is mitigated or blocked in easterners with certain characteristics: a high level of education and political affiliation with the [leftist, A.F.] PDS."

2. Albert Valdman (Valdman 2000, p. 649) discusses similar issues in French instruction in the Unites States, characterizing the goal to reach native-speaker-like competence as "un objectif réductionniste": "En fait, une competence de communication véritablement native représente un objectif réductionniste pour des apprenants alloglottes puisqu'elle ne caractérise qu'un groupe particulier de la communauté linguistique cible, par exemple, la compétence communicative d'adolescents parisien, celle de quadragénaires cultivés de la Touraine, etc." [In fact, a truly native communicative competence represents a reductionistic goal for language learners because it characterizes but one particular group in the target language, for example, the communicative competence of Parisian teenagers, the competence of cultivated forty-year olds from Touraine, etc.].

3. "When was the first use of the term? I cannot find anything earlier than Bloomsfield's Language (1933)." (Davies 1991, p. x).

4. I am indebted to Gabi Kathoefer for suggesting the two-phase process.

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The Pedagogical Norm

The Acquisition of Sociostylistic and Sociopragmatic Variation by Instructed Second Language Learners: The Elaboration of Pedagogical Norms

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Introduction

Most second language acquisition (SLA) research has focused on the acquisition by learners of features of the target language where native speakers show invariant usage. Of course, there exists a well-represented strand of research on the variable reproduction by second language (SL) learners of invariant native speaker input: the field of research on interlanguage. A relatively new strand of SLA research has been developing which focuses on the acquisition by SL learners of the sociolinguistic and sociopragmatic variation evidenced by native speakers (Dewaele 1999; Rehner and Mougeon 1999; Sax 2000). For example, in a pseudo-longitudinal study Sax (forthcoming) investigates the acquisition on the part of university instructed learners of linguistic features characteristic of vernacular metropolitan French: the deletion of the negative *ne*, the deletion of /l/ in third person masculine subject pronouns, and interrogative morphosyntactic variants.

Most of this latter type of research has taken place in the context of Canadian immersion programs whose objective is the ultimate acquisition on the part of learners of near-native proficiency. But this goal may not be appropriate for most of the types of SL instruction, specifically classroom foreign language (FL) learning found in the United States, in view of the cultural, social, and political context. Particularly in elementary and intermediate-level courses—those in which most learners are enrolled—FL instruction is formative in nature. In addition to a modest degree of communicative ability, this type of FL instruction also must aim to impart a substantive body of knowledge about the particular FL and the cultures of the communities that use

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it, the capacity to read texts in the target language (TL), and metalinguistic and epilinguistic outcomes.

Epilinguistics concerns attitudes toward language. The recognition that all forms of speech are worthy and that there are no "primitive languages" or "corrupted dialects," unsuited for the potential uses to which a given community may wish to put them, should be an important outcome of SL instruction. Hopefully, these attitudes will guide the judgments of former SL students in their adulthood as they face the numerous language planning issues that confront today's complex multi-ethnic societies. Two such issues that concern Americans today are to what extent Spanish should be officialized and the nature of the relationship between African American Vernacular English (also termed Ebonics and Black English) and mainstream Standard American English. One way learners can come to accept the inherent worthiness of all types of language behavior is to be sensitized to the variability that exists in the TL and to become familiar with the various parameters with which it correlates.

Setting near-native speaker performance as an objective for formative SL instruction is unrealistic and reductionist (Auger and Valdman 1999). First, for the major SLs taught in the United States, there are several geographical communities and, within each, social and age groups with their own speech norms. What does it mean to speak French near-natively: to approximate the linguistic competence of a student at Laval University in Quebec City, that of a 40-year-old Parisian blue collar worker, that of an upper class retiree in Liège, Belgium? Second, native speakers do not always welcome foreigners who have acquired localized vernacular forms of speech, which are closely linked to membership in close-knit, intimate social networks. Giles and Ryan (1982) remind us that accents and dialects serve as powerful symbols of ethnic and cultural identity. Foreigners who closely conform to native vernacular norms may not be more favorably regarded by their hosts. They may instead be viewed with suspicion and be considered as having violated rules of hospitality. For example, Paul Chistophersen's (1973) describes the Englishman's reaction to an overperfect pronunciation in a foreign speaker as that of a host who sees an uninvited guest making free with his possessions.

Most FL language teachers would consider this to be a false problem, for they would adhere strictly to the standard norm. There are at least two problems with this solution. First, that norm will seldom be evident in the samples of authentic oral texts to which learners will be exposed. Second, to expose them only to highly contrived materials that adhere to the standard norm will make it difficult for them to understand authentic texts. It also denies them access to suitable models on the basis of which they may extract the rules that underlie vernacular speech. Precisely because they differ from the codified rules that characterize the standard norm, there is little evidence for these rules in instructional materials. More compatible with instructed SL learning is the construct of the pedagogical norm.

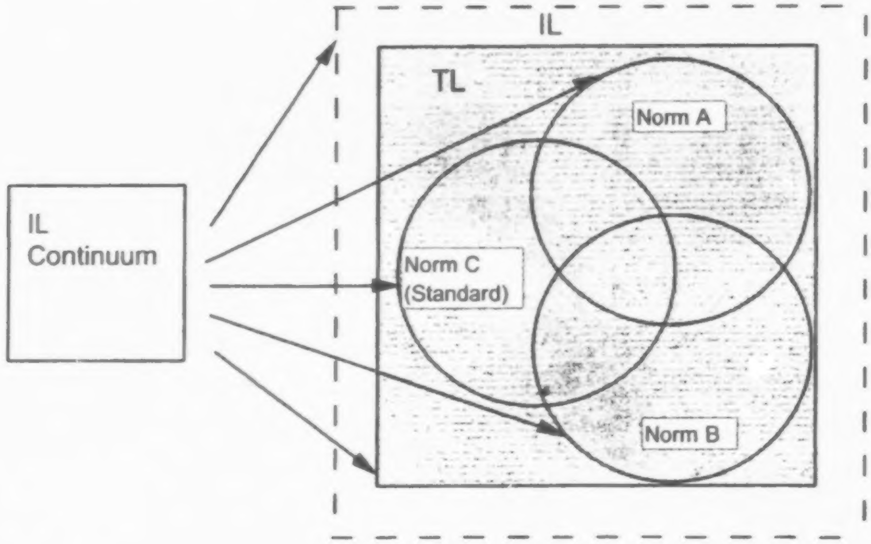
In this article, I offer the pedagogical norm as an approach to deal with linguistic variation in instructed SL learning. First, I will develop that notion. Second, I will illustrate the elaboration of a pedagogical norm by applying it to arguably the most variable morphosyntactic feature of vernacular French, WH-interrogative structures. Third, I will review an experimental study conducted with advanced instructed learners that suggests that setting as model a simpler pedagogical norm (the *Loi de Position*) rather than the orthoepic standard norm (so-called Parisian French or Standard French [SF]) results in better auditory discrimination, less puristic attitudes toward linguistic variation, and paradoxically, closer approximation to the orthoepic norm.

The Construct of a Pedagogical Norm

The construct of a pedagogical norm starts from a view that in complex linguistic communities speakers' linguistic behavior is determined by shifting orientation toward co-existent norms. It implies the rejection of a unidimensional model according to which language variation is determined by level of attention to speech and in which all social groups orient their behavior to that of a single dominant group

Figure 1

Possible orientations of IL continuum toward various TL norms



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(Labov 1966). Instead, speakers will shift their norm orientation depending on a variety of factors, including the situational context and their communicative intent (Valdman 1988). This multinorm model accounts, for example, for the persistence of socially stigmatized forms (Labov 1972). It is also consonant with Milroy's social network theory (Milroy 1982), according to which the closer knit the relationships among speakers are and, as a consequence, the more multilateral their communicative interactions, the more likely the emergence of subnorms in a linguistic community. Within the framework of the multinorm model, interlinguistic continua may be viewed as vectors that are oriented toward a particular TL norm by filtering input and by controlling feedback. In naturalistic SLA, the types of communicative situations encountered by learners will determine, in large part, the norm orientation of their interlinguistic continua. In instructed learning, however, norm orientation is controlled, in large part, by the teacher and teaching materials. The elaboration of pedagogical norms represents a clearly interventionist view that contrasts with the laissez-faire attitude of misinterpreted communicatively oriented instruction illustrated by the citation following:

> Many U.S. school districts have chosen to stop short of immersion and stress "proficiency" instead. This reflects the new emphasis on communication—on what the student can *do* in the language—rather than on repetitious verb drills and grammatical analysis. "If you went into a proficiency classroom, you would see students practicing languages with the teacher and with each other," explains Maryland's Met. "They might be role-playing. You might see groups of students interviewing each other and reporting back to the class." At first, "It's usually 'Frenglish'," says Ginette Suarez, who has been teaching junior-high French in Washington, D.C., for 20 years, "but I want them to be able to express themselves without worrying about tenses and all that. I tell them, nobody in this room speaks perfect French, not even me" (Seligmann et al. 1990).

The relationship between a pedagogical norm and the orientation of the learner's interlinguistic system toward competing native norms is illustrated by Figure 1. The large gray-shaded square delimited by solid lines and labeled TL represents the totality of TL lects and subsumes all of the community's norms. The circles included in the grey-shaded areas represent the various norms of the TL community. For the sake of convenience, the model includes only the standard norm and two other competing norms, A and B. With regard to the French data I will be discussing, the norm which determines middle-class planned (formal) speech influenced by the orthography would be the standard norm, Norm C; the norm that determines working-class speech would be Norm B; that which determines middle-class spontaneous (informal) speech would be Norm A. The large square delimited by broken lines represents the totality of deviant interlinguistic forms that fall outside of the overall system of the TL. In naturalistic SLA, interlinguistic continua are oriented broadly and may include forms that fall outside of TL. In conventional instruction, interlinguistic systems are oriented implicitly toward the standard norm. In the elaboration of a pedagogical norm the learner's productions are first oriented toward an artificial norm that, nonetheless, falls within the overall TL target that is included within the grey-shaded square of Figure 1. In subsequent phases of instruction, the learners' productions are oriented progressively and explicitly toward the standard norm by way, if necessary, of competing native norms.

A pedagogical norm is an approximation to the TL established on the basis of the following factors: (1) linguistic: the actual variable production of targeted native speakers in authentic communicative situations; (2) sociopsychological: native speakers' idealized views of their speech and the perceptions both native speakers and foreign learners have regarding expected behavior of particular FL users; (3) acquisition: relative ease of learning and use. I will illustrate the concept of pedagogical norm with a notoriously variable area of French morphosyntax, WH-interrogative structures (Valdman 1975, 1976, 1983, 1988; Fox l989; Coveney 1996).

Application of the Pedagogical Norm to WH-Questions in French

As shown in Table 1, French offers a variety of interrogative constructions containing an interrogative pronoun or adverb (WH-interrogatives). Students of French are traditionally taught only two of these numerous WH-interrogative constructions attested in various geographical and social varieties of French: EST-CE QUE and INVERSION. The first step in the elaboration of a pedagogical norm is the establishment of baseline data on the actual behavior of native speakers. There exist two thorough sociolinguistic studies of French interrogatives whose data diverge somewhat. The older one (Behnstedt 1973) rests on a larger corpus, about 1,400 tokens, but its controls of social and stylistic variables is flawed. Behnstedt distinguishes three different situations, but the collection of the data involves analyzing radio recordings for middle-class formal style, guided interviews with 21 subjects for middle-class informal style, and conversations with truck drivers with the investigator serving as

Table 1
French WH-interrogative variant constructions

INVERSION	Quand pars-tu?	When are you leaving?
IN SITU	Tu pars quand?	
FRONTING	Quand tu pars?	
C'EST INSERTION	Quand c'est tu pars? Quand c'est que tu pars?	
EST-CE QUE INSERTION	Quand est-ce que tu pars?	
COMPLEMENT	Quand que tu pars?	
CLEFTING	C'est quand que tu pars?	

assistant driver for working-class speech. Coveney's (1996) more limited data (122 tokens of WH-interrogatives) was collected from a group of 30 subjects using the standard variationist experimental protocol involving correlation of variable production against previously identified social independent variables: socioeconomic and cultural classification, age, sex. Although his speakers were all from Picardy, there did not seem to be transfer from structures of the Picard dialect. The data in Table 2 (Behnstedt 1973; Coveney 1996) show that INVERSION is relatively rare in informal speech and that the frequency of occurrence of EST-CE QUE is subject to wide variation. (Note that INVERSION comprises both the variants containing a clitic pronoun, *Quand part-il?* 'When is he leaving?' and a NP, *Quand part ton train?* 'When is your train leaving?') Basing ourselves on the more robust Behnstedt data, we may conclude that in everyday speech metropolitan French speakers most frequently use the variants FRONTING and IN SITU that are syntactically less complex at the surface structure level. However, from a sociopsychological perspective these constructions are stigmatized, as indicated in Table 3. Behnstedt's middle-class speakers underestimated their use of these two variants while, on the other hand, they overestimated the proportion of INVERSION. For example, they thought that they used that construction in about 1/3 of the cases although in their informal style they actually produced it in only 5% of the cases. On the other hand, their estimated use of the stigmatized FRONTING construction was nearly 20 percentage points below actual production.

On the basis of the criteria of status and solidarity (Giles and Ryan 1982; Ryan 1983), one may assume that educated middle-class native speakers of French would expect foreign counterparts to favor INVERSION, which is the most highly valued construction in their own

Table 2
Relative frequency of the distribution of interrogative constructions in a representative corpus of spoken French
(Behnstedt 1973; Coveney 1996)

		BEHNSTEDT (in %)		COVENEY (in %)
	Working class	Informal Middle-Class	Formal Middle-Class	
IN SITU				
Tu vas où?	12	33	25	15.8
FRONTING				
Où tu vas?	36	46	10	23.8
EST-CE QUE				
Où est-ce que tu vas?	8	2	3	48.3
EST-CE QUE VARIANTS				
Où c'est que tu vas?	35	4	—	
INVERSION				
Où vas-tu?	9	5	62	9.1
	N = 587	*N* = 446	*N* = 436	*N* = 122

subjective norm and which they associate with planned discourse and the written medium. In other words, they expect educated foreigners to speak "better" than they do. Concerning the attitude of learners themselves, in the absence of sociopsychological evidence in this matter, invoking the French sociologist Bourdieu's notion of the linguistic market (1982), we may assume that they would favor the normative variant, INVERSION. For learners, the acquisition of a foreign language in the classroom context represents an investment for which

Table 3
Sociopsychological: speaker evaluation (middle class)

Type of Construction	Actual Use	Estimation
FRONTING	.47	.30
IN SITU	.35	.20
EST-CE QUE	.15	.19
INVERSION	.03	.30

they would expect maximum return. Thus, the second and third criteria of pedagogical norm elaboration converge to identify INVERSION as the interrogative construction most suitable for foreign learners to use from the sociolinguistic and sociopsychological standpoints.

The acquisitional criterion proves difficult to apply. INVERSION is subject to numerous syntactic constraints that render its handling difficult and prone to errors. For example, INVERSION generally does not occur with the first person singular pronoun: **Quand arrivé-je*; it is also not permitted when the WH-form is *que*: **Que vous a-t-il dit*? Thus, the risk of producing deviant sentences is very high and erroneous overgeneralizations are common; for example, on the basis of *Comment t'appelles-tu?* 'What's your name?', Myles, Hooper, and Mitchell (1997) have noted for 'What's his name?': *Il s'appelle comment t'appelles-tu?* and *Comment il s'appelles-tu?* All teachers of beginning and intermediate French could add to this collection of bizarre syntactic hybrids. As a general principle, the order in which French WH-interrogative structures should be introduced should match the development of the learners' interlinguistic structures. From that perspective, FRONTING appears to be the most easily learnable construction, at least on the basis of the evidence provided by a study of American beginning university students' production of WH-interrogatives (Valdman 1975, 1976). FRONTING occurred in high proportion in questions these students were made to produce, despite the fact that this variant was absent from the input to which they were exposed. This case of creative construction (Dulay, Burt, and Krashen 1982) identifies FRONTING as a likely candidate for transitional use in early stages of learning. Inferences from a contrastive analysis at the surface level would suggest that anglophone learners also would find EST-CE QUE relatively easy to use. As shown in Figure 2 the semantically void *est-ce que* matches well the position of the equally semantically empty function word *do*.

The ordering of French WH-interrogative constructions as shown in Figure 3 represents the pedagogical norm for the order of their introduction. First, only four variants are selected from the larger set

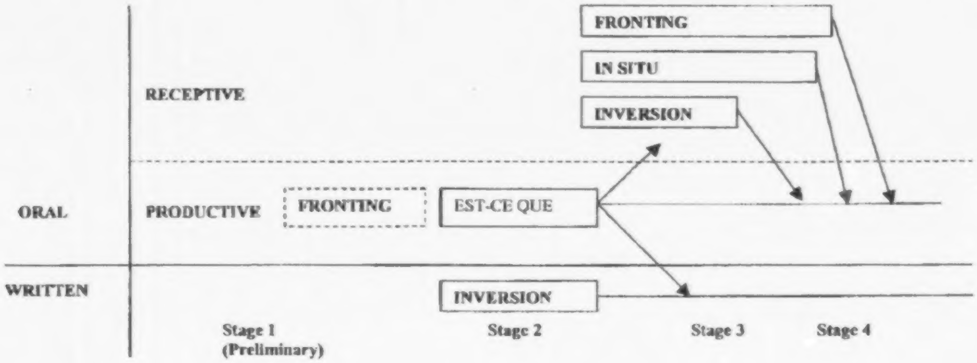
Figure 2

Linear and semantic correspondances between est-ce que *and* do

Where	**does**	John	live?
|	|	|	|
Où	**est-ce que**	Jean	habite?

Figure 3

A dynamic pedagogical norm for WH-interrogatives



occurring in the full range of authentic native speech (see Table 1). Second, exposure of students to the four variants selected from the larger set of attested constructions is carefully controlled. Because it appears easiest to process, FRONTING is introduced as the initial target. But because it is stigmatized, it is progressively replaced by the more neutral EST-CE QUE construction. Concurrently, INVERSION is introduced for written production and more formal oral discourse. In later stages of instruction, all four variants are introduced for recognition and active control, but information is provided about the various sociolinguistic and syntactic restrictions that govern their use.

A case that underscores the primacy of epilinguistic criteria involves variation in German in the placement of modal and auxiliary verbs in subordinate clauses introduced by *weil* 'because'. Descriptive grammars state that these verbs are moved to clause-final position. However, observation of current German vernacular use reveals that in informal style speakers place them before the main verb, see (1):

(1)	Ich arbeite weil ich essen muß. ?Ich arbeite weil ich muß essen.	I work because I have to eat.
	Sie schläft weil sie müde ist. ?Sie schläft weil sie ist müde.	She sleeps because she is tired.

For English learners the variant without postposition of the modal or auxiliary verb is easier to use. However, as the question marks indicate, speakers of German characterize these as ungrammatical or reflecting an approximate mastery of the language. For that reason, they could only be introduced, as we have proposed for FRONTING WH-questions in French, as an initial provisional step leading toward the use of the more sociolinguistically acceptable variant.

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Integrating Grammar and Sociopragmatics

Communicative ability, both in its productive and receptive modes, can be attained only if learners are exposed to a variety of authentic communicative situations and written texts illustrating a broad range of genres and pragmatic situations. A pedagogical grammar compatible with communicatively oriented FL instruction must be solidly anchored in sociopragmatics, that is, it must reflect the functional use of language embedded in communicative situations. In other words, it must be notional-functional in nature, and it must stress the meaning and function of grammatical features rather than their surface form. Inasmuch as in classroom FL instruction a realistic goal is not only interpersonal communication for its own sake, but also the exemplification of how a FL is used to achieve it, accuracy in the use of language cannot be subordinated to the achievement of success in communicating. But accuracy must not be confused with purism or hypercorrection. To eliminate FRONTING and IN SITU constructions from the syllabus because of their erroneous perceived association with lower-class speech would constitute purism since these two constructions are the two most frequent in the spontaneous speech of middle-class speakers; to recommend the use of INVERSION for neutral conversation because it is thought to elevate the style would constitute hypercorrection since targeted native speakers seldom use it in this type of speech.

The discussion of French variant WH-interrogative constructions above suggests that these are synonymous and correlate mainly with social and stylistic factors. Such a narrow view of the significance of language variation for linguistic communication reflects a reductionist determinism associated with early labovian variationist research (Labov 1966). More recently sociolinguists, notably Romaine (1984), Milroy (1982), Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985), have stressed that the choices speakers make among variants signal identification with particular social groups and reflect communicative intent. There also has been among sociolinguists a lively debate concerning the applicability of the variationist methodology developed for the study of phonological variation to the syntactic level. Phonological variants are semanticly neutral. Thus, the choice among variants can serve various indexical functions, for example, to indicate membership in a particular social group. On the contrary, syntactic variants serve a broader range of functions in communication. Even though syntactic variants, such as the several French interrogative constructions, may have the same representational meaning (associated with truth value), they differ with regard to their textual or pragmatic value (Romaine 1984, p. 427):

> It is just as reasonable to say that someone does not know the meaning of a word/expression if he cannot contextualize it as it is to say that he doesn't know the meaning if he doesn't know the truth conditions. The problem with keeping a theory of language use projectionist, i.e. separate from an autonomous linguistic theory which deals with decontextualized or depragmatized system sentences, is that social context and meaning is relegated to a place of secondary importance.

As Fox (1989) and Coveney (1996) have demonstrated, many linguistic, sociolinguistic, and pragmatic constraints restrict the particular WH-structure a particular speaker will use in a given communicative interaction. Early descriptions of French interrogatives (Foulet 1921, Fromaigeat 1938) commented on some of the rhetorical and pragmatic differences among variants. For example, Foulet linked INVERSION to a high level of formality ("très correct mais abrupt"), whereas he viewed EST-CE QUE as more neutral. Albeit in a very vague and impressionistic manner, he posited differences along a scale of communicative value: for example, he ranked variants according to what he termed "intensité interrogative," the degree of involvement of the questioner in the information elicited (Fox 1989). He concluded that EST-CE QUE was more likely than FRONTING and INVERSION for requests of clarification. Although the polymorphism of French interrogative constructions has attracted the attention of many syntacticians and sociolinguists (see Fox 1989 and Coveney 1996 for a comprehensive evaluative review of this research), the database is still inadequate to claim that, in all instances, the various WH-structures correlate straightforwardly with particular pragmatic features.

The first step in attempting to determine links between particular variants and pragmatics is to abandon the reductionist view implicit in the term itself; namely, that the primary function of interrogative structures is to formulate questions, to elicit information. This step is taken by Aidan Coveney (1996, p. 116) who proposes a taxonomy of function as shown in Table 4 which, given the dearth of knowledge is primarily heuristic in nature. The next step is to attempt to trace at least some preliminary links between particular variants and certain communicative functions and discourse contexts. The first step in leading learners to observe, and subsequently, acquire sociopragmatic appropriateness in the use of French WH-interrogative variants is to search for functional restrictions.

In the only sociopragmatically oriented empirically based study on this topic, Coveney (1996) found that IN SITU is rarely used for rhetorical and self-questions but that, instead, FRONTING is the

Table 4

Taxonomy of pragmatic functions served by interrogative structures (Adapted from Coveney 1996)

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1. **Propositional content of the question**
   - Request for information
     Qu'est-ce que vous faisiez?
   - Multiple queries:
     Il se sont mariés quand?
     Il se sont rencontrés comment?
   - Request for opinion:
     Qu'est-ce que tu en penses?
   - Request for advice:
     Comment fait-on une demande de congé de maladie?
   - Request for action:
     Quand est-ce qu'on part? (equivalent to: Bon, alors, on part? Bon, mettons-nous en route.)
   - Request for clarification:
     On discutait pour savoir qui veut faire du vélo...Vélo c'est quoi?
     C'est faire des randonnées à vélo.
   - Recall:
     Qu'est-ce que j'avais fait l'été dernier?
2. **Relationship between the speaker, the utterance, and the content**
   - Rhetorical questions:
     Qui ne se trompe jamais? (=Tout le monde se trompe quelquefois);
     Mais qu'est-ce vous voulez qu'on fasse? (equivalent to: Il n'y rien à faire.).
   - Echo:
     A: ...et sinon qu'est-ce que tu fais d'autre?
     B: Sinon qu'est-ce que je fais d'autre? A vrai dire je fais pas grand-chose.
   - Echo plus request for clarification ou expression of surprise:
     A: Elle est partie hier.
     B: Elle est partie quand?
3. **Relevant aspects of the knowledge, beliefs, and assumptions of the speaker**
   - Pre-statement of information:
     Tu sais pourquoi il l'a pas eu? Parce qu'il avait oublié de mettre la ceinture.
   - Ritual pre-statement (jokes, riddles, puns, etc.):
     Quelle est la couleur d'un tiroir quand il n'est pas fermé?
     Il est tout vert.
   - Summarizing post-statement:
     Tu vois ce que je veux dire?
   - Introduction of new topic:
     ...l'économat... alors ça consiste en quoi?, eh ben, ça consiste euh...

Table 5
Pragmatic constraints on the use of IN SITU, FRONTING, and EST-CE QUE WH-interrogatives (adapted from Coveney 1996)

	Information-eliciting questions to others (in %)	**Rhetorical and self-questions (in %)**
IN SITU	52.6	27.3
FRONTING	18.8	56.0
EST-CE QUE	46.4	46.0

structure indicated for that function. In Table 5, the statistics from Coveney's study show the percentage of use of the variant for the functions indicated. On the other hand, IN SITU is the favored construction for eliciting information from one's interlocutor. Interestingly, EST-CE QUE is used with equal frequency for both functions, which underscores its neutrality.

On the basis of these admittedly limited data, one may extend the pedagogical norm to guide learners in producing pragmatically appropriate WH-interrogatives.

- Use EST-CE QUE and FRONTING for rhetorical and self-questions:
  Un bon professeur qu'est-ce qu'il désire?
  What does a good teacher wish?

  Et bien, il voudrait que ses
  Well, s/he wants his/her students

  élèves apprennent bien.
  to learn well.
  *......il désire quoi?

  Zut, où (est-ce qu'il) il habite?
  Darn, where does he live?
  * ...il habite où?
- Use IN SITU or EST-CE QUE for information-eliciting questions to co-locutor:
  Elle s'appelle comment?
  What's her name?

  Il l'a rencontrée où?
  He met her where?
  Quand est-ce qu'ils se sont mariés?
  When did they get married?

Pedagogical Effectiveness of the Pedagogical Norm

Variation in the French Mid-Vowel System and the *Loi de Position*

Does the use of the pedagogical norm result in closer approximation to target norms on the part of learner than approaches that do not attempt to modify input? The effectiveness of the pedagogical norm was explored by a pilot study focusing on a phonological variable of French, the *è* variable. This variable, arguably one of the best studied in French variationist phonology (Gueunier, Genouvrier, and Khomsi 1978; Léon 1972), involves the production of a vowel ranging from [e] to [ɛ]. It is for that reason that to test the pedagogical efficacy of the pedagogical norm we selected that variable feature for an experimental study.

To put this phonological variable in perspective, it will be useful to review briefly variation in the French mid-vowel system. In SF there are six mid-vowel phonemes, as validated by the contrastive pairs in (2):

(2)	le pré [pRe] 'meadow'	le prêt [pRɛ] 'loan'
	les jeûnes [ʒøn] ' fasts'	les jeunes [ʒœn] 'young people'
	la paume [pom] 'palm'	la pomme [pɔm] 'apple'

However, the occurrence of these six phonemes is subject to various limitations depending in part on the syllabic environment. The front unrounded mid vowel [e] does not occur in checked (CVC) syllables so that such sequences as *[bel] do not occur. This has been saliently illustrated by the unpronounceable nature of the neologism *mél* *[mel] for e-mail address. Accordingly, [e] and [ɛ] do not contrast in this type of syllable. The front and back rounded vowels, respectively [ø, œ] and [o, ɔ], contrast primarily in checked syllables; the low-mid members of these pairs do not occur in free (CV) syllables, see (3).

(3)	Free syllables (CV)	Checked syllables (CVC)
	pré [pRe]	———
	prêt [pRɛ]	prête [pRɛt]
	pot [po] 'pot'	paume [pom]
	———	pomme [pɔm]
	jeu [ʒø] 'game'	jeûnes [ʒøn]
	———	jeunes ʒœn]

As would be expected, there is considerable variation correlating with geographical, social, and stylistic factors not unlike those that affect the choice of interrogative structures discussed in Section 3. In southern France, an area where Occitan dialects were and are still spoken, generally, speakers do not contrast between the high-mid and low-mid members of these three pairs of mid vowels. For them these are in complementary distribution: the high-mid member of each pair occurs in CV syllables and the low-mid member in CVC syllables; this is shown in (4):

(4)	Free syllables (CV)	Checked syllables (CVC)
	pré [pRe], prêt [pRe]	———
	———	prête [pRɛt]
	pot [po] 'pot'	———
	———	pomme [pɔm], paume [pɔm]
	jeu [ʒø] 'game'	———
	———	jeunes [ʒœn], jeûnes [ʒœn]

This type of distribution traditionally is termed the Loi de Position: open syllable (CV) —> high-mid (close) vowel [e ø o], checked syllable (CVC) —> low-mid (open) vowel [ɛœ ɔ].

The Loi de Position characterizes the vernacular speech of southern (Méridional) French speakers, as well as, in a somewhat different manner, those in other parts of the country. As would be expected, there is considerable variation, speakers alternating between their vernacular norm and that of the prestigious SF. An important sociolinguistic consideration is that in CVC syllables such pronunciations as [pɔm] instead of [pom] for *paume* and as [ʒœn] instead of [ʒøn] for *jeûnes* are stigmatized. Indeed, they constitute a widespread stereotype of the Méridional accent in French. Applying the sociopsychological criterion of the pedagogical norm, namely, that it should conform to native speakers' idealized views of their speech and the perceptions both native speakers and foreign learners have regarding expected behavior of particular foreign users, adherence to the SF norm in these cases would be required of foreign learners. In other words, they would be expected NOT to follow the Loi de Position and instead to produce the high-mid vowels in CVC syllables, for example [pom] and not [pɔm] for *paume* and [ʒøn] and not [ʒœn] for *jeûnes*. Because instances of the high-mid vowels [o] and [ø] in CVC are relatively infrequent and relatively predictable—for example [o] usually occurs before [z] (*la chose* 'the thing', *la pause* 'the pause'), see Valdman (1993) —this does not pose a major pedagogical problem.

The situation is quite different for the front unrounded pair [e] versus [ɛ]. The use of the high-mid vowel [e] in free syllables according to the Loi de Position is not stigmatized; in fact, it is the most widespread pronunciation throughout France. Even speakers of SF vary widely in their use of [e] or [ɛ] in nonfinal syllables, that is, they pronounce *maison* as [mezõ] or [mɛzõ] and *rester* as [Reste] or [Rɛste]. Despite the fact that the production of the low-mid front unrounded vowel [ɛ] characterizes the speech of a minority of French speakers, the traditional approach in the teaching of French as a foreign language involves requiring students to produce contrasts such as *le pré* [e] 'meadow' versus *le prêt* [ɛ] 'loan'. In American English, in CV syllables, matching the three French unrounded front vowel phonemes [i e ɛ], there are only two contrasts (*sea* versus *say*). In addition, vowels occurring in final CV syllables are glided in English whereas those of French are tense and unglided. These differences between the French and American English vowel systems lead to serious learning difficulties for American learners of French, particularly because the vowel [ɛ] is highly frequent. Thus, the *è* variable occurs in the imperfect and conditional endings, as well as in a large number of lexemes. Table 6 provides verbal contrasts involving these two tenses as well as sample orthographic representations of SF [ɛ].

The Loi de Position as a Pedagogical Norm

Beginning American learners find it difficult to differentiate [e] and [ɛ] in CV syllables and, in addition, they tend to produce both vowels, especially [e], with a final glide. A pedagogical norm would involve treating the two phones as variants in complementary distribution because that pronunciation is both attested and not stigmatized. Initially, the focus would be on the production of the two variants without a glide. The gradual progression toward the SF norm would involve memorizing exceptions to the Loi de Position, first the imperfect and conditional endings *-ais*, *-ait* and *aient*. Learners would be trained to produce grammatical contrasts such as *il a parlé* 'he spoke' vs. *il parlait* 'he used to speak' and *j'irai* 'I will go' vs. *j'irais* 'I would go.' Next, they would associate individual morphemes with reference to orthographic representations, such as *-ai* (*balai* 'broom'), *-aid* (*laid* 'ugly'), *-et* (*piquet* 'post').

Table 6
Forms containing the *è* variable

Forms with [ɛ]	**Forms with [e]**
je parlais 'I used to speak, impf.'	j'ai parlé 'I spoke, past perfect'
je parlerais 'I would speak, cond.'	je parlerai 'I will speak, fut.'
le marais 'marsh'	la marée 'tide'
la baie 'bay'	bouche bée 'tongue tied'
le grès 'sandstone'	le gré 'liking'
le prêt 'loan'	le pré 'meadow'

Table 7

Forms containing the French variable 'è' ([é]—[è])

Sentence-reading

(1) J'ai porté un *bérêt.*
(2) Il est venu par les *marais.*
(3) Elle se *dépêchait* pour aller à la banque.
(4) Je *ferai* mes devoirs *après* lui avoir téléphoné.
(5) S'ils le *voulaient*, tu *pourrais* partir avec eux.
(6) En *effet*, on *voulait fêter* son anniversaire.
(7) Tu vas *balayer* toute la *maison.*
(8) Elle aime certains *aspects* de l'humour *français.*
(9) Vous avez dessiné un mouton à la *craie.*
(10) Ferme la porte *s'il te plaît.*
(11) On a *fait* des *progrès* en histoire.
(12) Cet enfant a *pleuré* toute la journée.

In a rigorous study that adopted Labov's early variationist data-collecting protocols, Gueunier and her associates (1978) discovered that the *è* variable functions as a marker, that is, it is sensitive to social as well as stylistic factors, the occurrence of the standard variant [ɛ] varying from 55% in formal style to 5% in informal style for the subjects as a whole. In addition to the fact that such studies with a representative group of French speakers provide a baseline reference, the *è* variable was selected for our study because of its arbitrary nature, that is, the alternation between the two phones is not determined by their relative naturalness, and because it is represented by the standard orthography in a relatively transparent manner.

The data–collection procedures of the Gueunier, Genouvrier, and Khomsi (1978) study were applied to a study of the reproduction of words containing the *è* variable on the part of two groups of advanced American learners at Indiana University: a group of 7 graduate instructors in French and 31 undergraduate students enrolled in an advanced course in French conversation containing a major pronunciation component incorporating the Loi de Position as part of a pedagogical norm for the pronunciation of [ɛ]. A control group of 11 native speakers of southern accent French (*français méridional*) whose pronunciation is characterized by the *Loi de Position* was recruited consisting of MA-level students at the University of Nice.

To obtain samples of attended speech influenced by the orthography deemed to represent the most formal level, subjects of all three groups were asked to read the sentences in Table 7. These contained 18 instances of the variable (appearing in italics). The last sentence, which does not contain any instance of the variable, was inserted as a control for the potential hypercorrect pronunciation of the invariable *é*, produced uniformly as [e]. All subjects were invited to make auto-evaluative and normative judgments about paired renditions of the same utterance, one containing the standard prononciation of the variable, i.e. [ɛ], and the other the deviant pronunciation [e]. Specifically, they were to indicate which of the two renditions represented their habitual pronunciation and which they preferred. The comparison of these two sets of judgments with the production data yielded an index of linguistic insecurity: the more their evaluative judgments differed from their production in the direction of the standard norm, the greater the index of linguistic insecurity. In all tasks requiring a judgment, subjects were provided with the spelling of the words

Table 8
Production, perception and evaluation of the 'è' variable by advanced American learners

Subject	Directed conversation (in %)	Sentence reading (in %)	Perception	Estimated use (in %)	Preference (in %)
2–6	39	72 (+33)	2/6 2/5	44	40
2–9	44	71 (+27)	2/6 3/5	67	40
2–8	46	56 (+10)	2/6 3/5	75	83
2–10	44	47 (+3)	3/6 3/5	63	71
1–1	23	44 (+19)	4/6 2/5	89	86
1–3	12	24 (+12)	3/6 2/5	56	33
2–7	54	24 (–30)	3/6 2/6	63	71
Group Average	37	48	19/42 = 45% 17/35 = 49%	65	64

Table 9
Comparison of use of 'è' variable by advanced American learners and Southern (Nice) French speakers

	Native speakers from Nice (in %)	**American graduate French instructors (in %)**	**American undergraduate students (in %)**
Sentence reading	11	48	62
Sound discrimination	77	45	68
Sound-word correspondence	71	49	54
Estimated use	36	65	42
Preference	39	64	47

containing the variable. The subjects' ability to distinguish the two realizations of the variable was tested by two different discrimination tasks. In addition, directed interviews were conducted with graduate student instructors by two native speaker peers; instances of the variables were transcribed by two advanced students of French linguistics and checked by this author.

As shown in Table 8, as a group, the graduate instructors evidenced sensitivity to the *è* variable as a sociolinguistic marker: the proportion of the standard realization rose from 37% to 48% with the shift to reading style. The difference between the two styles was much narrower than that of Gueunier, Genouvrier, and Khomsi's (1978) Tours sample; note, however, the wide range of individual performance on the various tasks.

Table 9 presents a comparison of the performance of the two advanced learner groups and the native speaker (NS) sample. The NS group demonstrated more accurate discrimination between [e] and [ɛ] than the two learner groups despite the fact that, because their pronunciation follows the Loi de Position, they do not habitually distinguish between these two phonemes of SF. The undergraduate learners, who had phonetic training incorporating the notion of the pedagogical norm, proved to be less puristic than the instructors; both their scores in the estimation of use and preference matched more closely that of the NS sample. More important, they attained greater discriminative accuracy, and they were able to produce the valorized variant more consistently in the reading style. In summary, instructed learning that took into account sociolinguistic factors about a feature of French pronunciation resulted in: (1) more accurate performance and (2) less puristic attitudes toward language variation.

Conclusion

In this article, it was suggested that an invariant TL norm, based on the planned discourse of educated and cultivated TL speakers, is both elusive and illusory as a target for learners, especially at the beginning and intermediate levels. To speak like a native requires the ability to select among several norms on the basis of the total situational context and in light of varying communicative intents. In addition, the norms for prestigious planned speech are usually complexified with respect to those that characterize vernacular unplanned speech. At the phonological level, they require finer discriminations; at the grammatical level, they involve numerous lower-level and highly specific constraints. Consequently, to approximate these norms learners are likely to produce more deviant forms, both inaccurate from a linguistic perspective and inappropriate from a sociopragmatic one. A more realistic and satisfactory solution to reduce the variation inherent in language is constructed pedagogical norms. These norms are dynamic and offer learners changing targets that lead them progressively toward the full range of TL variants.

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Linguistic Norm vs. Functional Competence: Introducing Québec French to American Students

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Introduction

The teaching of second and foreign languages has changed dramatically during the past forty years. Decontextualized drill exercises have been replaced or supplemented by activities that focus on authentic situations of communication. While language curricula used to be articulated around the notion of a single correct standard or, maybe more accurately, a lack of awareness of the variation that characterizes human languages, many now explicitly acknowledge that multiple norms exist and that students should be equipped to use their target language in a variety of different settings. Thus, in addition to teaching students the forms of standard Spanish or standard French, for example, many pedagogues expand the linguistic horizons of their students by introducing them to a larger variety of social, geographical, and stylistic options than was the case previously. Both of these changes pursue the same goal: making students able to use the knowledge acquired in class, that is, to express themselves, make themselves understood by native speakers of the language, and understand what is said around them and to them.

While this new approach to linguistic variation is welcomed by many teachers and linguists who applaud the less prescriptive and more open attitude that it brings to the classroom, we must admit that it also raises new problems. Joseph (1988, p. 33) thus summarizes what he terms a crisis: "a foreign-language pedagogy moving steadily in the direction of oral proficiency and cultural openness encounters a spoken language which is the butt of cultural prejudice, perhaps even more among American teachers of French than among the

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general educated French population." In his paper, Joseph considers only one type of variation, the distance that separates written and spoken French,[1] and he evaluates six different solutions to this problem. He expresses a personal preference for an approach which first introduces students of French to the oral structures of what he calls "New French" and then familiarize them with the written forms of Modern French, but he conceives that other teachers might prefer to start with written Modern French and then introduce oral New French.

The present paper examines another type of variation that is finding a niche in French curricula: varieties of French spoken outside of France. While I take for granted that it is a good idea to introduce American students of French to varieties of French spoken in Switzerland, Belgium, the Ivory Coast, Senegal, Louisiana, Québec, and other francophone communities, in this paper, I seek to determine how this can best be done. Focusing on the notions of functional competence and pedagogical norm as central criteria for developing effective but realistic curricula for introducing Québec French into French-language programs, I argue that different situations call for different solutions. Specifically, I show that while it is feasible, and probably desirable, to make French-immersion students in Québec not only capable of understanding different registers of Québec French, but also of using them, at least to some extent, such an objective is unrealistic and unnecessary in the context of foreign language classrooms in the United States. Instead, I will follow up on Auger & Valdman's (1999) suggestion that American students should be acquainted with Québec French early on, but for receptive purposes only, and I will propose that we use popular songs by Québec artists. As we will see, a carefully selected set of songs, presented in a sequence that takes into account their level of proficiency in French, can serve to familiarize students with typical *québécismes*, teach them about the cultural and sociopolitical context in Québec, and counter the mistaken impression that some students, and maybe also some teachers, have that Québec French is a corrupt form of French that is better kept out of any classroom.

Language Teaching and Functional Competence in French-Immersion Classes in Canada

For most students who study foreign language in a classroom setting, functional competence, that is, the ability to use their target language in various settings and to communicate successfully with diverse interlocutors, remains a very elusive goal. Limited time spent studying the language, the lack of opportunities to hear and speak the target language, and the artificial setting of the classroom all contribute to making it very difficult to develop a real ability to speak the language and understand it. While it is unfortunate but not surprising that functional competence should be difficult to achieve for American learners of French, in this section we will see that this problem is not unique to foreign language settings. Specifically, we will examine evidence that even French-immersion programs in Québec do not always succeed in making their graduates capable of effectively communicating in French with francophones from their own community.

Canada is officially a bilingual country, but this does not mean that all Canadians are bilingual. Rather, bilingualism in Canada can be described as institutional, since it only requires federal employees who work in offices where bilingual services must be provided, and not private citizens, to be bilingual. Indeed, in spite of the fact that most, if not all, school systems across Canada offer courses in French and/or English as a second language, only Québec and New Brunswick require that their high-school students study the other official language;[2] consequently, most Canadians speak only one of the two official languages. According to a 1999 publication of the Ministry of Canadian Heritage titled *Official Languages: Myths and Realities*, 14.3% of the population of Canada speaks only French, 67.1% speaks only English, while 17% speaks both French and English. Most bilinguals in Canada are concentrated in three provinces: New Brunswick, Ontario, and Québec, with the largest number found in Québec (2,412,985 vs. 1,234,895 in Ontario and 237,765 in New Brunswick, according to 1991 census figures reported by the Ministry of Canadian Heritage).

While the percentage of Canadian bilinguals may seem rather small for a so-called bilingual country, it should be noted that the number of bilinguals greatly increased in the forty years from 1951 to 1991, as it went from 1.7 to 4.4 million, far exceeding the general growth in population that took place during the same period. A significant part of this increase is due to the fact that many English speakers, both in Québec and in the rest of Canada, realized that it was in their children's best interest to learn French. Indeed, important social changes in Québec in the 1960s and subsequent changes in the language policies of Canada, Québec, and New Brunswick have made it increasingly important for monolingual English speakers to become proficient speakers of French in order to succeed economically. In the 1960s, a group of parents pressured their local school board in the suburbs of Montréal to implement an experimental program for the teaching of French as a second language in their school, hoping that this program would be more efficient than the programs that were currently in place and would help their children become proficient in French. This experimental program, called French immersion, was so successful that it has been adapted and adopted by other schools in the Montréal area as well in every Canadian province and territory. In 1999–2000, 2,127 schools in Canada offered French-immersion programs, and 320,495 students were enrolled in them, according to the statistics published in Canadian Heritage's 2000–2001 *Official Languages* report.

While the new language policy of Québec makes it obligatory for every child who is educated in English to study French as a second language, many parents remain convinced that the minimal level of French that is required is not sufficient for their children and choose to enroll them in French-immersion programs. The *Official Languages* report estimates that 40,212 students were enrolled in French-immersion programs in Québec in 2000–2001, or 39.3% of those studying French as a second language. In conjunction with the general social changes that have taken place in Québec since the 1960s, the popularity of immersion programs has had a very strong impact on the anglophone and allophone[3] populations of this province. According to the "Living in French in Quebec" section of the official web site of the Ministry of Canadian Heritage, "[t]he percentage of anglophones able to hold a conversation in French increased from 37% to 59% between 1971 and 1991. With respect to allophones, the percentage went from 47% to 69%."

French-immersion programs have not only greatly contributed to increasing the number of bilingual anglophones in Québec, they have also helped them become more proficient speakers of French. Indeed, many studies have shown that the proficiency of anglophones who have learned French through immersion far exceeds that of anglophones who have studied French in traditional core programs (Genesee 1998) and that it sometimes matches that of native speakers. Specifically, immersion students generally score as high as comparable native speakers in both written and oral comprehension tasks, but somewhat lower than them in both written and oral production tasks (Genesee 1987, 1998).

In view of the successes described above, it is surprising to realize that even students who have graduated from immersion programs sometimes have difficulty functioning in French in Montréal. Specifically, while I was teaching at McGill University in the mid-1990s, a number of students shared with me the frustration which they felt at trying to use, in real-life settings, the language that they had spent so many years learning in school. Quite interestingly, their problem was not limited to production but also involved comprehension, as they reported often having difficulty understanding what coworkers would say to them. Thus, it seems that the first goal of immersion programs, which is "to provide the participating students with functional competence in both written and spoken aspects of French" (Genesee 1987, p. 12), had not been fully met for these students. This problem has been noted by other researchers, including Genesee (1978, 1981), Thibault & Sankoff (1993), and Tarone & Swain (1995), but few concrete solutions have been proposed to solve it.

The comprehension problem described in the previous paragraph comes as a surprise for two reasons. First, it is unexpected in view of the reported findings that receptive skills exceed production skills among immersion students. Second, in the Montréal context, where French is so widely accessible on the street, at work, and in the media, it is difficult to imagine that anglophones studying French have not received extensive input in their target language. The solution to the first puzzle, concerning the discrepancy between the evaluations of educators and linguists, on the one hand, and those of the students and graduates themselves, on the other, is actually quite simple: the kind of French that is evaluated by educators and linguists is not the same one that is commented on by students. As Genesee (1987, p. 46) stresses, the language skills that are tested in school settings all deal with school French rather than street French. Whereas the difference between school English and street English may be, for many speakers, relatively small, it is well known that the distance between the two forms of French is rather large. Some might even argue that it is larger in Montréal than in other French-speaking cities. Indeed, the two varieties of French differ in many respects, and it is easy to imagine that some of these differences may impede communication, including comprehension, on the part of second language learners who have not had a chance to learn them, just as they sometimes pose problems to French speakers from other francophone countries.[4]

Pitois (1997) and Auger (2002) examine textbooks and materials used in French-immersion programs in Québec and their studies confirm that while these materials contain words and expressions that are characteristic of standard Québec French, they do not introduce students to the colloquial forms of French that French-speaking Montréalers are likely to use in real-life settings. Obviously, there is nothing unusual about this situation, as schools are expected to teach standard languages and to correct colloquial forms of speech that have been acquired at recess and outside of school. Why should French-immersion programs be any different? Parents who enroll their children in French-immersion courses expect their children to learn "good" French in school. For instance, Thibault & Sankoff (1993, p. 214), who have been involved in a detailed research project concerning bilingual anglophones from Montréal, quote a passage from one of their interviews about parents who withdrew their daughter from a French-speaking school and transferred her into a French immersion program because they did not like the fact that she was learning to speak *joual*, or street French, at the French-speaking school. In addition, in the context of French-immersion programs in Montréal, students have, in principle, many opportunities to be exposed to colloquial forms of Québec French (TV sitcoms, movies, friends, and coworkers) and thus should not need to learn it in school.

The comprehension problem reported by immersion graduates is a consequence of the fact that most immersion students rarely use French outside of school, as most of their friends are anglophones and their activities take place in English. Furthermore, anglophones appear not to seek opportunities to speak French, and their use of French tends to be "reactive," that is, in response to francophones addressing them in French, rather than active (cf. Genesee 1987). Thus, while immersion programs do not teach colloquial French to their students, because they assume that the students will acquire it on their own outside of the classroom, students are not taking advantage of their surroundings to complement what they learn in school.

We must wonder why immersion students make such little effort to use French outside of school. One possibility is that immersion students feel hesitant to seek out French-speaking friends due to the fact that their knowledge of French does not equip them for conversing in French with friends their own age and talking about topics that are unrelated to school. This idea, which is inspired by similar hypotheses developed in Tarone & Swain (1995), might help us understand a very puzzling paradox that is reported by these authors: namely the fact that children and adolescents use less and less French as they get older, in spite of the fact that their L2 competence is improving. Tarone & Swain (1995) attribute this situation to the fact that the immersion context only provides students with a formal variety of French that is appropriate for formal functions such as addressing one's teachers or parents. Furthermore, they point out that during preadolescent and teenage years, questions of identity take a very central place in the lives of students, and "preadolescents and adolescents need a vernacular style as a way of signaling their identities" (Tarone & Swain 1995, p. 168). In this context, we can expect that if students had access to a wider stylistic range in French and more opportunities to practice using the language in varied settings, they might become more active in their use of French and would stand a better chance of becoming truly bilingual.

But how do we expand the stylistic horizons of students learning French in immersion programs? Auger (2002) takes up a suggestion made by Ossipov (1994) and proposes that class time be devoted to works by Québécois authors that feature characters who speak colloquial Québec French. Specifically, Auger (2002) shows how the novel *La grosse femme d'à côté est enceinte* 'The fat woman next door is pregnant' by Michel Tremblay may serve to familiarize students with the pronunciation, the lexicon, the morphology, and the syntax of working-class French in Montréal. The short excerpt below, which corresponds to roughly the first page of the novel, illustrates the typical use of standard and colloquial French in this and in other novels that Michel Tremblay wrote around the same period. While the narrative sections are generally written in standard Québec French, with colloquial words being used only occasionally, the dialogues tend to mirror the speech of the working-class speakers that the characters depict. In this excerpt, we note many features of colloquial French that are not specific to Québec French: elisions as in *d'la, j'pense, t'as*, and *j'me rappelle*, and the absence of the subject pronoun in *faut pas exagérer*. We also find many features that are typical of colloquial Québec French. For instance, we note the use of the anglicism *loose*, spelled *lousse*. Non-standard pronunciations such as *moman* for *maman* and *j'arais* for *j'aurais* should also be noted. With respect to morphology, we note the regularization of the verb *s'asseoir*, which is generally conjugated as *finir* 'to finish' in Québec French: *s'assir*. Finally, lexical usages and expressions typical of Québec French are illustrated in this short passage. Thus, the verb *jongler* is used here to mean something like 'to juggle ideas in one's head', and the phrase *de même* means 'so, this way'. As we can see, this short passage contains no less than fifteen non-standard features of French, many of which are specific to Québec French.

> *Rose, Violette et Mauve tricotaient. Parfois Rose (ou Violette, ou Mauve) posait son tricot sur ses genoux, jetait un coup d'oeil mi-amusé mi-sévère sur le travail de ses soeurs et disait: "Tu tricotes trop lousse." ou bien: "Si moman m'avait donné d'la laine de c'te couleur-là, j'arais été ben désappointée!" ou bien encore elle ne disait rien. Si elle restait inactive trop longtemps, l'une de ses soeurs tournait la tête vers elle: "Finis ta patte avant de jongler." Et Rose (ou Violette, ou Mauve) reprenait son travail après un discret soupir. Le silence s'installait. Confortablement. Mais au bout de quelques minutes: "C'est rare qu'on peut s'assir dehors un 2 mai, hein?" "Ouan... J'pense que c'est la première fois." "Voyons donc, faut pas exagérer! Depuis le temps..." "C'est vrai, t'as raison... j'me rappelle, l'année que Victoire a eu Gabriel..." "C'tait pas l'année de Gabriel, c'tait l'année d'Édouard,*

> *son deuxième...*" "*Comme tu veux.*" "*C'est pas comme j'veux, c'est de même. C'était l'année d'Édouard.*"
>
> 'Rose, Violette, and Mauve were knitting. Sometimes Rose (or Violette, or Mauve) would put down her knitting on her lap, would glance, half amused, half severe at her sisters' work and say "You knit too loosely." or "If mom had given wool that color, I would have been very disappointed!" or else she would say nothing. If she remained inactive too long, one of her sisters would turn her head toward her: "Finish your leg before daydreaming." And Rose (or Violette, or Mauve) would resume her work with a discrete sigh. Silence would settle. Comfortably. But after a few minutes: "It's rare we can sit outside on May 2, right?" "Yeah . . . I think it's the first time." "Come on, don't exaggerate! For as long as . . ." "It's true, you're right . . . I remember, the year that Victoire gave birth to Gabriel . . ." "It wasn't the year of Gabriel, it was the year of Édouard, her second . . ." "As you wish." "It's not as I wish, that's the way it is. It was the year of Édouard."

However, as Auger (2002) notes, in the context of French-immersion in Québec, reading passages in colloquial Québec French and hearing them in plays, TV shows, and movies may still not suffice in order to prepare students to seek out opportunities to speak French in real-life settings. As a complement to the literary approach explained above, she proposes, following the lead of Lyster (1993, 1994), the use of different activities that place students in situations that mirror non-academic settings. For instance, role play activities in which students act as DJs for rock radio shows, as suggested in Tarone & Swain (1995, p. 175). In a similar vein, students could enact a first meeting between an immersion student and a new francophone college roommate (Sax 1999) giving them an opportunity to practice some of the colloquial features to which they have been exposed in Michel Tremblay's books and in movies and television shows viewed in school. Such activities need not take up much class time, but they may make an important difference in the linguistic choices that students make outside of the classroom. Once they feel well equipped for functioning in French in real-life every-day situations, one can hope that they will feel more comfortable seeking out such settings and that they will finally develop a full functional competence in French.

Introducing Québec French in Foreign Language Curricula

Full functional competence is a reasonable and feasible goal in the context of French immersion in the Montréal area. It is obviously not so in the context of foreign language instruction in the United States.

Does this mean that we should abandon any such efforts and expose our students only to standard European French, or referential French? While this practice was long the norm in language pedagogy, many current textbooks now accord a significant place to *la francophonie* and its different cultures and ways of speaking French. A good example of this trend is the second edition of *Chez nous*, a first-year textbook that was published in 2001 and that is subtitled *Branché sur le monde francophone*. This textbook truly lives up to its promise. It features in its dialogues and exercises French speakers from such diverse francophone communities as Louisiana, Belgium, Switzerland, Québec, Mali, Guadeloupe, Senegal, and Polynesia, and it devotes significant sections to describing the sociolinguistic situations in Louisiana, Québec and Canada, and the overseas departments and territories. What I would like to propose in the rest of this paper is that we should complement the precious information contained in textbooks such as *Chez nous* and expose students to authentic written and oral materials from the different francophone communities. While my proposal focuses specifically on Québec French, the principles that inspire it should be applicable to other varieties of French, especially those that are widely used as both vernacular and vehicular in their speech communities.

Introducing students to authentic samples of Québec French is important for at least three major reasons. First, it reinforces for students the sense that the French language is not a monolithic entity but rather a flexible tool of communication that comes in different accents and uses different words in its different homes. Second, it better prepares them to interact with any francophone whom they might encounter either in their travels abroad or in their home country. Third, it provides students with a more complete understanding of the sociolinguistic situation of another francophone community, one which is closer geographically and yet less well known.

The approach proposed here for increasing the presence of Québec French in curricula of French as a foreign language used in the United States focuses on two central notions: the notion of pedagogical norm that was proposed by Valdman (1976) and is further discussed in many other papers, including the one published in this volume, and the conviction that our language classes should introduce students to the various guises in which Québec French is attested (Auger & Valdman 1999). Just as French is not a monolithic entity, neither is Québec French.

The pedagogical norm, which was proposed to help language teachers determine which linguistic forms should be taught, which should not, and the order in which they should be taught, takes into account the variation that characterizes the target language, the social values that are attached to different linguistic forms, and the learning process that the students are engaged in. While this approach stresses that students should be familiar with the different forms and accents that characterize the target language as it is used by native speakers, it recognizes that all linguistic forms are not socially equal and recommends that students should learn to use socially acceptable forms of speech. Specifically, while non-standard forms of speech may serve, in some cases, as stepping stones for acquiring more prestigious forms (Valdman, this volume), non-standard forms ought to be taught primarily for recognition rather than production purposes. In other words, the ultimate goal is to train Americans and other learners of French to speak French like educated, middle-class speakers from Paris and surrounding areas. However, at the same time, learners must be made aware that not everyone speaks so-called standard or Referential French, so that they are not predjudiced against these native speakers.

The advent of sociolinguistics in the 1960s has revolutionized the way linguists look at language and the variation that we inevitably uncover whenever we examine it in any detail. Before the 1960s, the fact that speakers alternate between equivalent ways of saying the same thing, such as *swimming* and *swimmin'* or *going to* vs. *gonna*, was typically taken to mean that language use is messy and that we should base our linguistic analyses on an idealized knowledge of language. Labov (1966, 1972) and many others after him have shown that linguistic variation is very systematic and that it is also an integral part of language and of speech communities. Specifically, sociolinguists have established that all speakers adapt the way they speak to the communicative setting. For instance, speakers automatically adjust their use of prestigious and non-prestigious forms of speech to the level of formality of the situation. In addition, sociolinguists have shown that variation patterns within the speech of individual speakers mirror what can be observed at the level of the speech community, where speakers from higher socio-economic groups use more prestigious forms of speech than speakers from lower socioeconomic classes. No speaker and no speech community have been found to be exempt from this type of variation. Viewed in this light, we expect to find in Québec French the same type of variation that has been found to characterize every human language: while some speakers have a strong Québécois accent and use many words that are unique to them and may be difficult to understand for speakers who are not familiar with this variety of French, others speak what we can call "standard Québec French"; furthermore, all speakers have the ability to adjust their speech and speak more formally when they are addressing foreigners or a public audience than when they are simply relaxing with close friends. Therefore, in order to have an accurate picture of Québec French and to avoid the negative stereotypes that students, and some of their teachers, entertain toward the less prestigious forms of French that are used in Québec (Salien 1998), it is crucial that students be aware of the range of registers and accents that are found in Québec French.

In view of the pedagogical norm, and given that American students of French find themselves in a situation that greatly differs from that of French-immersion students in Québec, for whom a complete functional competence in French which includes a Québec accent and a productive knowledge of colloquial forms of speech is an achievable, and sometimes desirable, goal, I reiterate Auger & Valdman's (1999) position that the goal in introducing Québec French to American learners of French is to promote recognition and understanding of this variety but not to encourage students to sound like the Québécois.[5] Thus, we should present students with written and audio materials which will make them familiar with this variety of French and will illustrate for them the different forms that French can take in Québec but not ask them to imitate the forms presented to them.

Thanks to the Internet and to international electronic shopping, it is now easier than ever to have access to a great variety of texts, audio, and video documents for the teaching of Québec French. For instance, Dickinson (1999) provides French teachers who want to introduce their students to Québec French with many very useful references and URLs. Indeed, it is now possible for francophones and francophiles around the world to read a summary of the news or to hear the hourly news on www.radio-canada.ca. One can even listen to live radio using free software such as RealPlayer or WindowsMedia. One can also take advantage of magazine (e.g., *L'Actualité* and *Châtelaine*) or newspaper (e.g., *Le Soleil, La Presse, Le Devoir, Voir*) articles that are accessible free of charge to expose their students to written Québec French. Finally, online shopping makes it easy to order novels, essays, and magazines, as well as videos, DVDs, and CDs, directly from bookstores and music stores in Québec. While any of these materials would undoubtedly help students know and understand Québec French much better, I would like to propose an approach that relies on popular songs from Québec for teaching Québec French.

The idea of using popular music in language teaching, while certainly neither novel nor unique, was proven to me by my own experience learning English through the lyrics of popular songs from the 1970s. As I read and memorized the lyrics of many songs by the

Beatles, Genesis, Supertramp, Pink Floyd, and many others groups, I not only greatly extended my English vocabulary but also became familiar with many nonstandard words and constructions that were not taught in my English courses. Thus, I remember being surprised when I discovered that some speakers use *don't* with third person singular subjects (e.g., *but she don't care* and *My baby don't care* in the Beatles' song *Ticket to Ride)* and that *ain't* is often used to negate verbs (e.g., *But I ain't seen nothing like him in any amusement hall* in Elton John's *Pinball Wizard*). The pedagogical use of popular songs presents a number of advantages for second- or foreign-language teaching to high-school and college students. First, it is well known that many teenagers and young adults have a strong interest in popular music. Thus, we can use songs to teach language in a less dry and more engaging way. Second, songs constitute self-contained texts that last only a few minutes. Third, many songs are written using language that mirrors to various degrees the spoken language of the young audience that they target. As a consequence, it is easy to see how a given song can be treated as a whole unit in one or two class periods, and how different songs can be presented at different times to illustrate the diversity that characterizes the speech of different segments of the population.

In a sense, the most difficult part of this paper consists in selecting a few representative songs by Québec artists that will introduce the students to the Québécois language and culture. Indeed, the music industry in Québec has come a long way since Félix Leclerc had to exile himself to Paris in the early 1950s in order to be "discovered" by the French before his talent was recognized by his fellow Québécois. The second half of the 20th century was a period of far-reaching social and political changes in Québec during which the Québécois developed a strong Québécois identity that replaced their French Canadian identity. This "Quiet Revolution" set the stage for a cultural revolution in many areas, including the music scene. Gilles Vigneault, Jean-Pierre Ferland, Claude Léveillée, and Robert Lévesque followed in Leclerc's footsteps. Robert Charlebois revolutionized Québec music when he introduced rock rhythms and started writing songs in Montréal working-class French–or *joual*. The 1970s followed with an explosion of different genres and many new bands and singers. A strong Québécois song tradition is now solidly established, as the number and popularity of Québécois artists continue to grow throughout the francophone world.

With so many songs available, it is easy to imagine that different instructors would select different songs to best serve their purposes. In a course that focuses on francophone culture, we would probably select songs that have had a particularly strong impact in the recent history of Québec, as well as a few songs that describe in some detail specific aspects of the life style of the Québécois. In a literature or poetry course, the quality and the variety of the lyrics would certainly constitute primary criteria. In a language course, we must obviously pay close attention to the level of difficulty of the lyrics in order to avoid introducing a song prematurely. In addition, I suggest that it would be wise to select songs which target a young audience in Québec and which are likely to appeal to a young audience in the United States. However, music should obviously not be the only criterion. Good lyrics that illustrate different registers of Québec French and different aspects of its linguistic structure are also central to the goal pursued in this paper.

The idea of using songs from Québec to familiarize students of French to the language and culture of Québec has already produced *Des chansons québécoises sans frontières* 'Québec songs without borders', published by Angéline Martel in 1992.[6] This innovative instrument provides teachers of French with a collection of twelve songs accompanied by series of activities that can be used to complement general textbooks and teaching methods. However, in spite of its many great qualities, I would argue that this instrument is not particularly well adapted to the teaching of French in the United States in the early 21st century. First, while Martel's selection centers around classic songs by many of the pillars of the music scene in Québec in the 1960s, 70s, and 80s, including Beau Dommage, Robert Charlebois, Georges Dor, Jean-Pierre Ferland, Félix Leclerc, Claude Léveillée, Raymond Lévesque, Luc Plamondon, and Gilles Vigneault, and certainly suits the tastes of adult learners and instructors very well, it is not clear to me that these songs would appeal to high-school and college-age students and would motivate them to make the kind of effort I made to learn English from learning the lyrics of popular songs. Second, I think that the decision to have the songs specially recorded by a singer who is also a teacher of French as a second language in order to facilitate comprehension on the part of the students also negatively impacts the positive effect that we seek to obtain in using authentic songs: for one thing, the whole song itself is no longer authentic, as it is not presented in its original version; for another, the kind of musical arrangement that could be achieved is too simple and not very appealing, once again, to young learners of French. While I agree with many of the goals set forth in Martel's collection and would never dare call into question the quality of the songs that are included in her work, I feel that it is necessary to propose a more modern selection of songs that largely focuses on the tastes of our target audience.

Following the lead of such recent textbooks as *Chez nous* and the opinion expressed in Auger & Valdman (1999) that it is advisable to introduce students early to the "diverse voices of Francophony," I propose that we introduce some Québec songs during the first year of French. In order to ensure that the exercise is beneficial for beginning students, we must choose a text that contains some lexical *québécismes* but that is pronounced in a light Québécois accent. Otherwise, there is a very real danger that the song will be too difficult for the students and that they will not even try to understand its language and its particularities. My proposal consists of two different tracks, so to speak. The first "track" proposes a unique song to instructors who do not wish to or do not have the time to play more songs from Québec. The second "track" proposes a series of songs that are arranged in order of difficulty and that can be introduced at different stages during the course of one semester or at different levels of proficiency in a course sequence.

The song that I propose for the first track is *Les maudits Français* 'The damned French'[7] by Lynda Lemay. Because it is fairly easy to understand, this song can be introduced in French classes as soon as the students are competent enough to be exposed to authentic French speech. However, because this is authentic French, it is also appropriate for any more advanced level of French. If only one song can be played to the students, this one stands out due to its content: it constitutes an excellent introduction to many aspects of French and Québécois culture. With much humor, Lemay points out different practices in the two French-speaking communities and pokes fun at both ways of life. A few illustrative excerpts from the song are presented below.

Les maudits Français 'The damned French'
(lyrics and music: Lynda Lemay)

[. . .]	
Y font des manifs aux quarts d'heure	'They're staging protests every fifteen minutes
À tous les mautadits coins d'rue	On every darn street corner
Tous les taxis ont des chauffeurs	All the cabs have drivers
Qui roulent en fous, qui collent au cul	Who drive like maniacs, who ride your bumper
[. . .]	
Y disent qu'y dînent quand y soupent	'They say that they have lunch when they have dinner
Et y est deux heures quand y déjeunent	And it's 2 o'clock when they have breakfast
Au petit matin, ça sent l'yaourt	In early morning, it smells like yogurt

Y connaissent pas les oeufs-bacon	They don't know eggs and bacon'
[. . .]	
Pis y nous prennent pour un martien	'And they look at us as if we were from Mars
Quand on commande un verre de lait	When we order a glass of milk
Ou quand on demande: "La salle de bain	Or when we ask "The bathroom
Est à quelle place, S.V.P.?"	Is where, please?"
Et quand ils arrivent chez nous	And when they arrive in our country
Y s'prennent une tuque et un Kanuk	They take a woolen hat and a winter coat
Se mettent à chercher des igloos	Start looking for igloos
Finissent dans une cabane à sucre	End up in a sugar shack
Y tombent en amour sur le coup	They fall in love right away
Avec nos forêts et nos lacs	With our forests and our lakes
Et y s'mettent à parler comme nous	And they start speaking like us
Apprenent à dire "TABARNAK"	Learn to say "tabernacle"
Et bien saoulés au caribou	And drunk from drinking "caribou"
À la Molson et au gros gin	Molson beer and gin
Y s'extasient sur nos ragoûts	They go on and on about our stews
D'pattes de cochon et nos plats d'binne	Of pig's legs and our bean dishes'
[. . .]	
Quand leur séjour tire à sa fin	'When their stay is almost over
Ils ont compris qu'ils ont plus l'droit	They have learned that they have no right
De nous appeler les Canadiens	To call us the Canadians
Alors que l'on est québécois	When we are Québécois'

Lynda Lemay sings this song with a recognizable Québec accent, but one that is fairly mild. Many of her vowels are clearly identifiable as Québécois, and she affricates the consonants /t/ and /d/ in words like *tire* 'draws' and *dînent* 'have lunch', but she does not use any of the more extreme features that characterize working class French in Québec. She also introduces her audience to many words that are specific to Québec: the use of *déjeuner, dîner*, and *souper* to refer to the three main meals of the day, les *oeufs-bacon* that we sometimes eat for breakfast in Québec,[8] other regional specialties such as the *ragoût de pattes de cochon*, our baked white beans, *les binnes*, and *caribou*, a liquor made of red wine and white whiskey, as well as the famous *cabane à sucre*. In the first verse, where Lemay describes the habit that the French have of staging protests all the time and the aggressiveness of Parisian cab drivers, she uses *mautadit*, a mild version of the *maudit* adjective used in the title, to express exasperation at the fact that there are so many demonstrations in Paris. She also mentions one of the many religious words that are used for cursing in Québec, *tabarnak*, and she introduces an expression calqued on English, *tomber en amour*. The only non-standard features of her grammar are the dropping of /l/ in the subject pronoun *il* 'he' (which is spelled *y* in the song) and the dropping of negative *ne*, but these features are commonly found in colloquial varieties of French in France and in other francophone communities. Finally, the end of the song, in which Lemay explains to the French who have not yet been to Québec (and to our American students) that French speakers from Québec are *Québécois* rather than *Canadien*, constitutes an excellent introduction to the question of the identity of the Québécois and their recent nationalist movement.

The second track provides French instructors with a sequence of songs that gradually introduce students to the different registers of Québec French. Because of its interesting comparison between French and Québécois cultures, Lemay's song should also occupy a privileged position in this second track. In such a sequence, Québec French, this song could be introduced at any moment or could also replace another song.

To open the sequence of the second track, I propose two songs that exemplify standard Québec French: a very light accent, standard grammar, and words that may be unique to Québec French but are accepted as standard by virtually all Québécois. The first of these two songs, the classic *Mon pays* 'My country' by Gilles Vigneault, was selected because of its focus on one central and inescapable aspect of life in Québec: winter. The first two verses of this song are given below. The only word in the excerpt below which is likely not to be familiar to students of French is the word *poudrerie*, a *québécisme* which means 'blowing snow'.

Mon pays 'My country'
(lyrics and music: Gilles Vigneault)

Mon pays ce n'est pas un pays c'est l'hiver	'My country is not a country it's winter'
Mon jardin ce n'est pas un jardin c'est la plaine	'My garden is not a garden it's the plain'
Mon chemin ce n'est pas un chemin c'est la neige	'My road is not a road it's snow'

Mon pays ce n'est pas un pays c'est l'hiver	'My country is not a country it's winter'
Dans la au vent cérémonie	'In the white ceremony
Où la neige au vent se marie	Where snow gets married to the wind
Dans ce pays de poudrerie	In this country of blowing snow
Mon père a fait bâtir maison	My father had a house built
Et je m'en vais être fidèle	And I'm going to be faithful
À sa manière, à son modèle	To his manner, to his model
La chambre d'amis sera telle	The guest room will be such
Qu'on viendra des autres saisons	That one will come from the other seasons
Pour se bâtir à côté d'elle [. . .]	To build a house next to it'

While *Mon pays* occupies such a central place in the recent history of music in Québec that it was difficult for me to imagine leaving it out of this song sequence, I can understand how some instructors might be hesitant to start their song sequence with a song that is so different from the music that most of their students are familiar with. As a matter of fact, it might be argued that the choice of the first song is particularly important in order to grab our students' attention and interest. As an alternative to the Vigneault classic, I thus propose a song entitled *Juré* 'Promised' by Jorane, a young woman who plays the cello and sings. As the following excerpt shows, this song contains no features that would pose problems for beginning learners of French.

Juré 'Promised'
(lyrics and music: Johanne Pelletier, aka as Jorane)

J'ai juré discipline et bonté	'I have promised discipline and goodness
Mais voilà... / J'ai juré de rester	But here it is . . . / I have promised to stay
sage, plutôt froide	wise, rather cold
De ne plus parler / Mais...	To no longer speak / But . . .
Mais voilà que chavirent vers l'au-delà	But now tip over toward the beyond
Mes plus pures pensées	My purest thoughts
Voilà que je lève vers l'au-delà	Now I raise toward the beyond
Un regard glacé // J'ai changé de peu	A frozen look // I have changed a little
tel un serpent J'en ai plein le dos de voir	like a snake. I've had enough seeing
Des gens se trahir en se serrant la main	People betray each other while shaking hands

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Pourtant je désire / Rester ici	Yet I desire / To stay here
Un soir de plus / C'est bien la première fois	One more evening / It's really the first time
Que je veux rester à un endroit [...]	That I want to stay somewhere

At the next level, we can introduce a song which contains clear features of Québec French. One good choice is a song entitled *Irresponsable*, which is interpreted by a new group called Okoumé. The accent is more clearly Québécois than in the two previous songs, and the vocabulary is a mixture of referential French and colloquial Québec French words. In the excerpt below, the word *loyer* is used to mean 'apartment' rather than 'rent,' as it does in referential French. Later in the same song, the verb *cogner* is used in the sense of 'to knock (at a door or a window)', a sense that is close to the meanings of the verb in referential French, but not identical. However, they also use *réveil* to mean 'alarm clock', instead of *cadran*, which would be the usual word in colloquial Québec French.

Irresponsable 'Irresponsible' (lyrics: Jonathan Painchaud;
music: Jonathan Painchaud & Michel Duguay;
interpreter: Okoumé)

8 heures le réveil qui sonne	8 o'clock the alarm goes off
Le proprio au téléphone	The landlord on the phone
Les menaces qui fusent de toutes parts	Threats are coming from all over
Il me parle de Huissier	He talks about the bailiff
Et moi, de droits et libertés	And me, about rights and freedoms
Tout ça pour deux mois de retard	All that because I'm 2 months late
S'il veut me traîner en cour	If he wants to take me to court
Je n'serai plus là demain	I won't be here tomorrow
C'est tant pis pour ce vautour	It's too bad for that vulture
Son loyer sentait l'chien, c'était l'mien	His apartment smelled like dog, it was mine
[. . .]	

More advanced students, who have a better knowledge of French in general and already some familiarity with Québec French, should now be introduced to songs whose language mirrors the colloquial spoken language of many Québécois. While many excellent songs would work very well here, I would like to offer two options: the first is a song from the 1970s which has marked very deeply the history of music in Québec, while the second is a recent song by a young singer whose music and lyrics are likely to appeal to high-school and college students.

The cultural revolution which started in the 1950s and expanded greatly in the 1960s culminated in the 1970s with the creation of many musical bands who had a very large impact on the musical scene of Québec. *La complainte du phoque en Alaska* 'The complaint of a seal in Alaska', interpreted by a band from that period, is certainly one of the most famous songs in the Québec repertoire. This song, which is an allegory that tells the story of a man whose girlfriend left to work in the United States, is sung with a very typical Québec accent and uses many grammatical constructions and words typical of colloquial Québec French. For instance, as we can see below, the first verse contains the non-standard pronunciations [kre] for *crois*, *moé* for *moi*, and *quéqu'part* for *quelque part*. It also contains a few instances of the [a] vowel in the final syllable of *Alaska* and in *gagner*. Finally, it contains two very frequent words or expressions of Québec French. The noun *blonde* is used by teenagers to refer to their girlfriend, but also by many adults to refer to their female partner, whether they are married or not.[9] When used in conjunction with the preposition *en*, the adjective *maudit*, which we saw in Lynda Lemay's song, no longer carries a negative meaning but rather expresses quantity and can be glossed as 'really' or 'a lot.'

La complainte du phoque en Alaska
'The complaint of a seal in Alaska'
(lyrics and music: Michel Rivard; interpreter: Beau Dommage)

Cré-moé, cré-moé pas	'Believe me, don't believe me
Quéqu' part en Alaska	Somewhere in Alaska
Y a un phoque qui s'ennuie en maudit	There's a seal that's really bored
Sa blonde est partie	His girlfriend left
Gagner sa vie	To earn a living
Dans un cirque aux États-Unis	In a circus in the United States'
[. . .]	

Daniel Boucher received two *Félixes*, the equivalent of a Grammy in Québec, for the best new artist of 2000 and for the best song of 2001. His first CD, *Dix mille matins* '10,000 mornings', has sold almost 100,000 copies in a market of approximately 7 million French speakers. The song which I have selected is reproduced in its entirety below. It is a short song which, like the *Complainte*, illustrates many phonological features of Québec French, including the pronunciation of the final consonant in *tout* (spelled *toutte* in this text, for this reason) and the diphthongization of long [ɛ] in words like *faire*, *affaire*, and *ordinaire*. It also introduces one word of colloquial French, *cucu*, whose use is attested in different francophone communities, and its Québec equivalent, *quétaine*. Its grammar illustrates one very important feature of colloquial French: subject doubling. In the first two verses, the subject *Le mal que tu veux combattre* is doubled by the pronoun *il* (once again, spelled *y* in this song to reflect the pronunciation without a final /l/). Finally, it shows the use of *donc*, pronounced [dɔ̃], as an element which increases the intensity of the verb (in these two cases, imperatives).

Le nombril du monde 'The world's center'
(lyrics and music: Daniel Boucher)

Le mal que tu veux combattre	'The evil that you want to fight
Y est en dedans de toé	It is inside you
T'as pas besoin d'aller te battre	You don't need to go and fight
Avec personne d'autre ailleurs	With anybody else elsewhere
De toute façon	Anyway
Tu pourras pas combattre le mal	You won't be able to fight the evil
En dedans de personne d'autre que toé	Inside anybody else but you
Toutte c'que tu peux faire	All you can do
C'est faire ton affaire	Is take care of your own business
Ça sonne cucu, ça sonne quétaine	It sounds goofy, it sounds goofy
Ça sonne ordinaire	It sounds ordinary
Fais-lé donc	Why don't you do it
Fais-nous donc nous rapprocher	Why don't you make us get closer
Du nombril du monde	To the world's center'

Finally, I would like to propose one last song which would probably be best suited for the most advanced levels of French. Loco Locass, a new rap group from Québec that is composed of members with varied ethnic backgrounds and are thus representative of the new multicultural nature of Québec society, has won many music awards in Québec, including the Félix-Leclerc award in 2001. Many critics have hailed the quality of their texts, and the inspiring effect of their lyrics for young people is recognized by the inclusion of one of their songs in a web site devoted to encouraging teenage authors to write in French: *Écrivains en devenir* (http://www.francite.net/education/index.html). For French instructors in the United States, I hesitated between the song included in this web site, *Langage-toi*,[10] and another titled *Sheila, ch'us là* 'Sheila, I'm here'. I opted for the latter in reason of its contents. While both songs are equally interesting musically, as they show that good rap music can be written in languages others than English, the latter focuses on Québec nationalism and thus presents an opportunity for introducing students to the recent and current sociopolitical context in Québec. It even includes the famous *Vive le Québec libre!* 'Long live a free Québec' uttered by Charles de Gaulle in Montréal in 1967. In addition, it is very interesting linguistically, as it features a mixture of features of colloquial Québec French (the pronunciation, the verb *capoter* 'to lose one mind,' the anglicism *badluck*, and an example of interrogative *-tu* in *C'est-tu moi qui capote*) and words and constructions of referential French (e.g., *palaores, déshydrater, suffoquer, assoiffé*). The reason for which I suggest that it should be kept for advanced students is that, even though the written lyrics are relatively straightforward, their musical setting often makes them very difficult to follow, even for a native speaker.

Sheila, ch'us là
(lyrics: Batlam, Biz, Nacer Fouad Taïbi;
music: Chafiik; interpreter: Loco Locass)

Les interminables palabres autour de la feuille d'érable
'The never-ending discussions about the maple leaf'
Me rendent malade
'Make me sick'
Moi j'avais voté Bloc pour que ça débloque
'I had voted for the Bloc [québécois] so it would move again'
Mais c'était sans compter le choc
'But it was not taking into account the shock'
De la ligne dure, qui dure et qu'on endure depuis cette époque
'Of the hard line, which lasts and that we put up with since that time'
C'est-tu moi qui capote - hystérique- pour quelques badlucks historiques
'Is it me who's losing my mind - hysterical - for a few historical mishaps'
Mais dans ta terre anglaise sur fond de R.O.C.
'But in your English land on a Rest-of-Canada background'
Mes racines latines déshydratent et suffoquent
'My Latin roots dry up and suffocate'
Dès lors, faut-il encore clore le débat?
'Consequently, should we close the debate once more'
Et débarrasser les prairies du Canada
'And rid the Canadian prairies'

De toute urgence d'une résurgence:
'Of any sense of urgency for a resurgence'
L'odyssée du lys assoiffé d'indépendence
'The odyssey of the fleur-de-lis thirsting after independence'

Conclusion

The teaching of French as a second or a foreign language has come a long way since the time when only Referential French was deemed appropriate for students. In this respect, sociolinguistics has already had a strong impact on language curricula. Researchers, textbook authors, and language teachers are now more aware of the pluralistic nature of French and realize that their students cannot become proficient second-language speakers of French unless they have acquired some familiarity with the variability that characterizes French. Thus, at this point, the question is not whether our language curricula should make room for regional and social varieties of French, but rather how this ought to be done.

In this paper, I have focused on the inclusion of Québec French in language programs. I have compared two different settings, the teaching of French as a second language in French immersion programs in the Montréal area, and the teaching of French as a foreign language in the United States. Given the obvious differences between the two situations, different goals must be set for each case and different approaches must be adopted. In the context of French immersion in Montréal, it is reasonable to expect that students should be able to achieve full functional competence in French. Furthermore, there may be real advantages for the students who master a range of registers of Québec French: while a mastery of standard Québec French will certainly best serve them in their academic and professional lives, an ability to speak colloquial Québec French would probably help them make francophone friends. Indeed, many students learning French in the Canadian context complain that the French that they are taught differs substantially from real-life French (Tarone & Swain 1995). For the immersion context, Auger (2002) proposes that teachers introduce novels and plays written by authors from Québec to familiarize students with the linguistic structures of Québec French and that they use role-play activities as an opportunity for using the colloquial features that will allow them to function normally in real-life French-speaking settings. Because full functional competence is not a realistic goal for American learners of French in a college setting and because American students would likely not benefit and might even be disadvantaged if they spoke French with a Québécois accent, the present article proposes that exposure to Québec French should aim at developing a non-judgmental attitude to different accents and forms of speech and a good ability to understand French speakers from Québec. While one could certainly use literary works from Québec, including many of Michel Tremblay's novels and plays, to teach students about features of Québec French, I have proposed that an interesting alternative consists of using popular songs. Because many students have a strong interest in popular music, it is hoped that this approach will strike a chord with them and motivate them to make the effort to understand and maybe even memorize the lyrics of songs that they like. And because songs are short, we can present many of them in the course of one semester, thus exposing students to different samples of Québec French which illustrate the rich variety that characterizes the French language as it is spoken in Québec.

While this paper has focused exclusively on Québec French, it must be noted that a similar proposal could be made for introducing other regional varieties of French to American students. For instance, the Cajun community of Louisiana counts among its members many excellent singers and musicians, and teachers could easily play songs by Zachary Richard and Beausoleil, among many others, to their students. Similarly, students could be introduced to Acadian French, the other major variety of French in Canada. The song *Évangéline* could serve, for instance, to introduce the famous Acadian legend. And music by young contemporary singers such as Marie-Jo Thério, whose songs are usually written in standard French, and popular bands such as 1755, whose songs include many Acadian words, morphemes, and pronunciations could familiarize students of French with some of the different forms that French takes in the eastern provinces of Canada.

Notes

1. According to Joseph (1988), the distance between spoken and written French is increasing. While this is a widespread feeling among linguists and non-linguists alike, we have, at this point, no empirical evidence that this is indeed the case. Relatively little evidence is available concerning spoken French in past centuries, but what is available shows that many current non-standard constructions have existed in spoken French for many centuries.
2. I thank Jacques Leclerc for this information. A detailed report on the teaching of French as a second language is available on the Canadian Parents for French's site: http://www.cpf.ca/.
3. Allophones are native speakers of "other" languages, that is, neither English nor French.
4. Examples of such differences will be provided later in this section and in the next section.

5. While not encouraging students to sound like the Québécois, I do not think we should penalize them if they have spent time in Québec or have friends or relatives there and have acquired a Québécois accent. If some of their features are highly stigmatized, we should probably point that out to them and give them the opportunity to make their accent more neutral if they want to.

6. I thank Ben Kloda for drawing my attention to these materials and for giving me a chance to consult them.

7. This title must not be taken to imply or reflect any anti-hexagonal bias. Lemay has performed this song many times in France and is a highly regarded artist there. As we will see very shortly, this is a humorous song that pokes fun at both the French and the Québécois. The CD that features this song has sold enough copies in Frence to become *disque de platine*.

8. This song would accompany quite well the section entitled *Une langue bien de chez nous* on Québec French on pages 151–156 of *Chez nous*. Alternatively, because of the somewhat extensive part on meals, it would make a nice complement to the *À table!* section on pages 260–261, which presents breakfast menus in different francophone communities.

9. Québec officially recognizes common law marriage, and many couples never get married (according to a recent survey, almost 25% of all adult couples are not officially married in Québec). Evidently, this choice is not frowned upon in Québec society, as many married people refer to their spouses as their *blonde* 'girlfriend' or *chum* 'boyfriend'.

10. This title is a pun between *langage* 'language' and *engager* 'to commit', so it means something like 'Commit yourself toward language'.

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The Heritage Speaker

Interaction with Heritage Language Learners in Foreign Language Classrooms

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As a result of the growth of Hispanic, Asian, African, Arabic, and other ethnic groups in the United States in recent years, most institutions of higher education have experienced significant changes in the composition of their student body, more accurately reflecting the multicultural nature of the country. Logically, as the student population becomes more diverse in general, the population of FL classrooms does so as well. In recent years, there has been an increase in the presence of heritage language (HL) learners, i.e., students from homes where languages other than English are spoken, or who have had in-depth exposure to another language (Campbell 1996; UCLA Steering Committee 2000). Studies in general education and FL teaching and learning have addressed many questions that concern HL learners, such as their range of proficiencies, and the instructional goals and models appropriate for that population. However, little research has been conducted on the social and pedagogical climate of classrooms where native as well as non-native instructors teach a FL which is also the home language of the HL learner. This paper examines classroom interaction between native and non-native instructors and HL students in regular university FL courses, ranging from beginning to advanced levels. After an overview of FL teaching and HL students in U.S. universities, the paper deals with three areas within classroom interaction: (a) the sociocultural backgrounds of both HL learners and native and non-native instructors; (b) the pedagogical conditions of FL classrooms with HL students; and (c) the affective dimensions of the relationship between instructors and HL students. Our analysis of these issues serves as a basis for a pedagogical framework for use by native and non-native instructors teaching a FL that is also the home language of HL learners, as well as for programs of

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FL teacher education. Finally, the paper offers some suggestions for future research into the multifaceted social, cultural, and pedagogical conditions of FL classrooms with HL learners.

Foreign Language Teaching and Heritage Language Learners in the U.S.

The results of the 1998 survey of FL registration carried out by the Modern Language Association (MLA) given in Table 1 indicate that Spanish is the first choice among university students, and that it occupies a significant place in the undergraduate curriculum (Brod and Welles 2000). The statistics also show that enrollment in other traditional FLs is decreasing, and that students are learning a greater variety of languages.

Numerous students—especially in large institutions—have traditionally taken FL courses in order to fulfill part of their requirements in certain academic fields. However, other students enroll in intermediate and advanced language or content-based FL courses, which allow them to obtain honorific mentions or citations in the language, and even pursue a secondary or complementary program of studies—e.g., Spanish and Business, German and Philosophy, French and Diplomacy, Italian and Art History, etc. As mentioned in the introduction, with the recent population shift in the U.S. there has been a widespread increase in the number of students with diverse ethnic,

Table 1
1998 Foreign Language Enrollment in U.S. Higher Education (MLA)

	1995	1998	Percentage change
Spanish	606,286	656,590	8.3
French	205,351	199,064	–3.1
German	96,263	89,020	–7.5
Japanese	44,723	43,141	–3.5
Italian	43,760	49,287	12.6
Chinese	26,471	28,456	7.5
Russian	24,729	23,791	–3.8
Hebrew	7,479	6,734	–10.0
Arabic	4,444	5,505	23.9
Korean	3,343	4,479	34.0
Other languages	17,271	17,771	2.9

Table 2
Profile of American College Population
(U.S. Census Bureau, 1999)

	1979	1999	
White non-Hispanic	84%	White non-Hispanic	71%
Black	10%	Black	13%
Other races	2%	Asian/Pacific Islander	7%
Hispanic	4%	Hispanic	9%

cultural or linguistic backgrounds. In 1999, 38% of public school students were considered to belong to a minority group, especially Hispanic (National Center for Education Statistics 2001). According to a population survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau (1999) as reported in Table 2, the race and ethnic composition of college students has also changed during the past two decades.

Many universities and colleges currently implement procedures or policies regulating the placement of HL students in the basic sequence of FL courses focused on the traditional linguistic skills in specialized programs for HL learners (where they exist) or in advanced FL courses dealing with content areas such as literature, cultural studies, or linguistics (Draper and Hicks 2000). These placement policies can be based on a single source or a combination of data from tests, structured or semi-structured interviews, referrals, etc.[1]

For the most part, FL courses are designed for monolingual speakers of English with little or no knowledge about the language or the people and the cultures involved (Campbell and Peyton 1998), even in the case of less commonly taught language courses where enrollments are often dominated by heritage learners (Brecht and Ingold 1998). Lower-level FL courses in medium and large institutions are usually taught by teaching assistants (TAs), lecturers or adjunct faculty.[2] Courses at a more advanced level are generally conducted by tenure-track or tenured faculty members. In contrast to the multisectioned lower-level classes, where TAs and other instructors generally work under the supervision of a course supervisor or a language program coordinator, advanced-level classes tend to fall under the responsibility of the faculty member who has designed, or has been asked to teach the course (Gutiérrez 1990). The following sections of this paper will focus on FL classrooms where heritage learners interact with native TAs (NTAs) and non-native TAs (NNTAs), an area of more immediate interest for FL program coordinators.

Research on Heritage Language Learners

The term "heritage language learner" is a relatively new concept in language education research, which covers a wide range of profiles such as "home background speaker," "native speaker," "quasi-native speaker," "bilingual speaker," "semilingual speaker," "residual speaker," etc. (Draper and Hicks 2000; Valdés 1997). Several volumes on heritage learners of Spanish and Chinese (AATSP 2000; Colombi and Alarcón 1997; Merino, Trueba, and Samaniego 1993; Valdés, Lozano, and García-Moya 1981; Wang 1996; Webb and Miller 2000) discuss the development of this new field known as "teaching of heritage speakers." Up to now, researchers have examined:

- Characteristics of HL learners (Feuerverger 1991; Hidalgo 1997; Roca 1997; Rodríguez Pino 1997; Valdés 1995).
- Role of FL pedagogy in teaching bilingual students and in maintaining minority languages (Brecht and Ingold 1998; Campbell and Peyton 1998; Valdés 2000; Zentella 1986).
- Teaching of dialect, prestige or standard varieties (Carreira 2000; Hidalgo 1997; Porras 1997; Valdés 1998, 1999; Villa 1996).
- Testing and assessment (Liu 1996; Otheguy and Toro 2000; Teschner 2000; Valdés 1997; Wang 1996; Ziegler 1981).
- Curricular and pedagogical issues (Colombi and Alarcón 1997; Mazzocco 1996; Merino, Trueba, and Samaniego 1983; Roca and Gutiérrez 2000; Romero 2000; Sak-Humphrey 2000; Wang 1996).
- Teacher education (Clair and Adger 1999; Gutiérrez 1997; Peng 1996; Roca 1997; Romero 2000; Scalera 1997; Sylvan 2000; Valdés 1999; Villa 1996).
- Perspectives on bilingualism and language loss, teacher attitudes and beliefs (Clair and Adger 1999; Gutiérrez 1997; Roca 1997; Romero 2000; Scalera 1997; Sylvan 2000; Valdés 1999; Villa 1996).

Although most of the research carried out in the U.S. has dealt with Spanish—primarily due to both historical and demographic reasons—the above studies and their findings suggest a need for further research on issues that may affect heritage learners in every language. Much has been written about the teaching needs and practices of the heritage population, not only in relation to what goes on within the classroom, but often about the impact of HL programs in specific communities. Some of these programs, aimed at language proficiency and cultural heritage maintainance, have slowly but steadily established connections with school districts and universities so that heritage learners may receive academic credits in exchange for their work in community language schools.[3] Furthermore, the increasing awareness of the differences between the teaching and learning of foreign languages, second languages, native languages and heritage languages has opened a Pandora's box of questions that require urgent and careful attention from researchers. In this respect, issues that had frequently been raised through anecdotal descriptions alone—e.g., placement, assessment, materials, and goals—have begun to be analyzed more systematically, addressing Valdés' argument that current practices are not "informed by a coherent set of theories about language learning" (Valdés 1997, p. 17).

Social and Cultural Backgrounds

Research has already demonstrated that "heritage language learners are different from the traditional foreign language student" (Draper and Hicks 2000, p. 20), especially with regard to their sociolinguistic background. It is thus essential to explore the uniqueness of HL learners in order to understand their interaction with native and non-native instructors in the FL classroom. The social and cultural background of HL learners may involve questions such as: How well established is the student's heritage community? How strong is the contact between the heritage community and its country or countries of origin? How well established is the student's heritage community? What are the perceptions toward the specific ethnic group speaking the heritage language? Despite these and other questions, the following variables can be considered as common to heritage learners in every language:

- Age
- Family background
- Socioeconomic background
- Level of education
- Level of competency
- Degree of contact and attitudes toward heritage community
- Degree of acculturation to the mainstream community
- Resources of the HL community (newspapers, TV stations, school programs, community-based activities, etc.)

It is difficult to "match" heritage speakers' individual language abilities in every FL course or to tailor courses to serve HL learners' needs, especially when some basic questions have not been answered. For example, it is crucial that teachers know how different language skills may transfer to ensure that pedagogical practices will suit the objectives of a course for such diverse group of students. Also, a heritage learner may be fluent in the prestige variety or in the colloquial (and often stigmatized) variety of the target language; he or she may be English-dominant with or without good academic skills; he or she may be a recent immigrant or may be a U.S. born second or third generation bilingual (Valdés 1997). Some may resist enrolling in an academic course on their heritage language after having internalized that their language is defective and needs to be "corrected." Other students are mostly receptive bilinguals conditioned not to "produce" anything in the target language. These learners may often switch languages in the midst of a conversation; they are probably members of speech communities in which more than one language is typically used and, in a classroom context, they often seem unable to understand grammatical explanations about their own heritage language.

The use of TAs in U.S. research universities became a standard practice in the 1960s when the influx of war veterans and a general population growth caused a shortage of instructors at the post-secondary levels (Schulz 2000). Universities appreciated the advantages involved in "offering TA support to attract graduate students and at the same time to hold down the cost of undergraduate instruction" (Guthrie 2001, p. 20). After the 1970s, the number of international teaching assistants (ITAs) started to increase steadily, due to favorable academic conditions offered by U.S. institutions to international students and scholars, and a general interest in new cultural and pedagogic perspectives in higher education (Chalupa and Lair 2001).[4]

While in the 1960s a majority of FL departments did not provide training and supervision for their TAs, preservice and inservice preparation is now widely common in most institutions in a number of formats such as methods courses, TA orientations, pedagogic and professional workshops, resource centers, mentoring programs, etc. Despite the improvements made in professional development of TAs, the literature related to TAs in FL education has pointed to several concerns regarding the personal, academic and professional needs of both NTAs and NNTAs. For example, some writers have argued that TA training may be more related to institutional demands than to the overall education of TAs as professional teachers of language, literature, and culture (Gorell and Cubillos 1993; Kinginger 1995). In addition, the academic culture of FL departments may still reflect an image of language teaching and TA training as subordinate to the teaching of literature and cultural studies (Patrikis 1995). This could be the case in some departments with a strong literary orientation, where TAs and ITAs may be less interested in teaching FL or—a much more common situation—may be subjected to arduous teaching schedules, high academic expectations, and meager economic conditions of their graduate assistant status, regardless of whether they are teaching monolingual or heritage students.

Other studies have analyzed characteristics of TAs and ITAs concerning the balance between language ability and intercultural and pedagogic skills, the teaching of grammar and other cross-cultural issues in the language classroom, and the process of acculturation to the institutional context. Nelson's (1990) review of literature on ITA research deals mainly with teaching behaviors that might be considered effective instruction, like asking and answering questions, giving explanations, and relating old and new information. The review concludes that college students prefer ITAs who use interactive and interpersonal teaching behaviors and who talk about their native culture in class. Salomone (1998) focuses on the teaching of grammar as a crucial problem for ITAs in American colleges and universities. In contrast to current teaching approaches in the U.S. that emphasize in-class functional language use, the teaching practices of ITAs are typically grammar-based practices. The results indicate that ITAs in this study seemed to be unsure about how to teach grammar, and sometimes unable to explain specific grammatical concepts to their students within a communicative approach to language instruction. Other pedagogic and cross-cultural issues refer to the ITA's concerns over student behavior, students' lack of language background in both English and the FL, student apathy, and differing perceptions of the teacher's role and the student's role (Salomone 1998, p. 558). Chalupa and Lair (2001) examine the situation of ITAs with regard to three distinct categories: language, acculturation, and university policy. As in Salomone (1998), information was collected from ITAs with diverse linguistic and professional backgrounds. The results of this study indicate again the difficulties that ITAs may have in keeping a balance between grammar teaching and a communicative orientation, especially when it comes to explaining complex grammar structures. Cultural differences may arise in the level of formality or informality in the classroom, the dynamics of teacher-centered vs. student-centered instruction, and the personal interaction between students and instructors. Other comments from ITAs about U.S. students concern their "lack of respect and self-motivation, their lack of seriousness with regard to their education despite high tuition costs, their negative reaction to instructor strictness, and the apparent pampering of the students by the educational system" (Chalupa and Lair 2001, p. 135).

Finally, differences between NTAs and NNTAs may also be noticed in terms of their knowledge about the overall U.S. educational system, and institutional policies related to grading, attendance and punctuality, academic misconduct and discipline, and sexual harassment.

Pedagogical Conditions

Research conducted in the second or foreign language classroom has provided teachers with answers to some queries about balancing comprehension and production, teaching grammar, treating errors, etc. (see e.g., Chaudron 2001; Ligthbown 2000; Pica 1994). Finally, the development of the *Standards for Foreign Language Learning* (1996) has pointed to the combination of linguistic and cultural skills as the foundation for proficiency in a FL, and the need to reconsider issues such as the length of the sequences of language study, standards-based assessment, and teacher development (Phillips 1999). These advances have clearly had a positive effect in areas of FL teacher development such as assessment of teacher effectiveness, models for preservice and inservice development, supervisory practices, and data-based studies relevant to teacher development (Schulz 2000, p. 495). However, many problems remain unexplored, especially in regards to the specific social and pedagogical conditions that FL teachers find in their classrooms. This section focuses on pedagogical concerns in courses with HL students, and more specifically on the linguistic competency in English and the target language, the linguistic interaction between the classroom participants, and the techniques and teaching materials commonly used in FL instruction with HL students.

At the secondary level, FL teachers presently face a quite difficult situation, wherein they may have to deal with traditional FL students (monolingual Anglophone students); second- and third-generation heritage students who are largely English-dominant; and newly arrived students possessing little or no knowledge of English and different degrees of schooling from their countries of origin (Valdés 1997). In colleges and universities, the use of linguistic and cultural registers is compounded by the diverse backgrounds of both instructors and students. Newly arrived HL learners generally have high levels of linguistic and cultural competency in their first language, but they may lack second- and third-generation learners' familiarity with the linguistic and cultural characteristics of both English and the heritage language. Likewise, NNTAs often know the language and how to talk about it, while NTAs often have a less structured knowledge of their own language, but are more familiar with the target culture(s). Another group of TAs would consist of HL learners enrolled as graduate students of their own language. These TAs demonstrate linguistic and cultural competency in both English and the target language, but they have difficulties with regard to the spoken and written variety they use in instruction.[5]

The analysis of linguistic interaction in second language (L2) classrooms has traditionally emphasized the examination of specific characteristics of the discourse employed by the participants such as error treatment, turn-taking routines, and questioning strategies (see e.g., Allwright and Bailey 1991; Chaudron 1988; Ellis 1994). The combination of these features with other pedagogic and cultural aspects—such as roles of teachers and students, differential teacher-student interaction, class size, selection of topics for the instruction—may constitute the basis for a more comprehensive view of FL/L2 classroom discourse. An ongoing discussion about the perceived need to teach an educated, standard variety of the target language (Politzer 1993), and about the notion of "standard variety" itself (Villa 1996), affects not only the linguistic interaction in bilingual settings, but also advanced FL classrooms. In these FL classes, native and non-native teachers (usually speakers of a prestige variety with exposure to other varieties in their professional and social communities) have to maintain a careful balance between the needs and interests of (a) monolingual Anglophone students who either have spent periods of time in a country where (often) a prestige variety of the target language is spoken, or have developed a close contact with heritage communities in this country; (b) newly arrived students, generally educated in what is considered the prestige variety in their country of origin;[6] and (c) heritage learners with a wide range of attitudes toward the standard variety used in the textbook and other course materials, and spoken in the classroom (Danesi 1986; Feuerverger 1991; Potowski 2001).

In the last 30 years, pedagogical materials, techniques and strategies in FL instruction have been transformed due to the increasing influence of communicative language teaching and its emphasis on issues of authenticity, complexity, and appropriateness of instructional topics, tasks, and materials (see e.g., Hinkel 1999; Omaggio 2001). However, these and other concepts (e.g., "proficiency orientation," "collaborative learning," "small-group work," "task-based instruction," etc.) still appear to be directed toward a rather homogeneous audience of administrators, teachers, and students. Recent studies have critiqued the implementation of mainstream language teaching practices in diverse English as a foreign and second language contexts (Canagarajah 1999; Coleman 1996; Holliday 1994). The same critique can apply to the content and orientation of FL teaching materials at any level, which, despite a culturally and politically appropriate design, often reflect a rather limited view of the varieties of the target language, the cultural identities and practices of the students, and the social and cultural environment in which instruction takes place.

Affective Dimensions

Affective dimensions of the relationship between HL learners and FL teachers should be viewed as interrelated. Furthermore, the exposure to and the interaction between the variety of backgrounds, motivations, attitudes and beliefs that can be found in any FL classroom need to be considered.

Student motivation has long been recognized as an essential factor in FL learning. Motivation has generally been associated with variables like language attitudes, anxiety, self-confidence, language aptitude, learning strategies, and measures of achievement in the language (see e.g., Dörnyei 1990; Gardner et al. 1997). Besides these general variables, HL learners may have different reasons for studying a FL:

- To seek greater understanding of their culture or seek to connect with members of their family (Mazzocco 1996).
- To reinforce the development of their own identity as members of a group with specific cultural characteristics (Benjamin 1997).
- To fulfill a foreign language requirement (Teschner 1983).
- To take advantage of the demand for graduates with professional-level skills in FL (Brecht and Ingold 1998).

The motivation of HL learners toward studying their own language in a FL classroom may also be affected by other variables. HL students may have to deal with unreasonable expectations concerning their knowledge of the heritage/foreign language and their involvement in classroom pedagogic interaction (Potowski, 2001). HL learners may display negative reactions to corrections in the classroom, particularly (a) when they make mistakes in their use of the standard variety usually required in a formal academic context, and (b) when they use certain lexical or syntactic forms common in their heritage community. In both cases, HL learners may perceive these situations as signs of disrespect or disregard for their cultural identity. Another important affective dimension has to do with the interaction between monolingual Anglophone students and heritage students, especially in advanced-level FL courses. The former group tends to feel intimidated by the HL students' more native-like knowledge of the target language.

Also, the Anglophone students may find that NTAs show some degree of favoritism toward HL learners, even if they differ culturally. HL students may feel that monolingual Anglophone students have a better grasp of standard grammatical structures and a wider knowledge of specialized terminology. In other words, HL learners' level of self-esteem can be affected by apparent gaps in their formal knowledge of the foreign language.

Teacher knowledge research claims that what teachers know and how their knowing is expressed in teaching constitutes an essential factor in the understanding and practice of teaching (Connelly et al. 1997). Richards (1998) summarizes the different types of conceptual organization and meaning employed by teachers, and draws a distinction between

- the teachers' implicit theories of teaching—"personal and subjective philosophy and understanding of what constitutes good teaching" (p. 51), and
- the knowledge concerned with subject matter and curricular issues, and the way(s) in which the content can be efficiently presented through unit and lesson planning, activities, materials, techniques, etc.

Teachers' beliefs result from the relationship of (a) the values, goals, and assumptions that teachers have in relation to the content and development of teaching, with (b) the understanding of the social, cultural, and institutional context where teaching takes place (Woods 1996). These beliefs develop gradually over time, have subjective and objective dimensions, and may originate from various sources such as:

- Personality factors
- Own experience as language learners
- Experience of different types of teaching
- Educationally-based or research-based principles
- Attitudes and assumptions toward the language(s) of instruction
- Conceptions about learning styles and strategies
- Beliefs about the program and the curriculum
- Attitudes toward specific individuals or groups learning the target language

Previous sections of this article have referred to these sources when outlining possible contrasts between NTAs and NNTAs in their interaction with monolingual and HL learners. In the case of FL courses with heritage learners, some authors have mentioned the uneasiness that NNTAs may feel with students who may have the same or even higher ability to use the target language in different communicative contexts (Ariza 1998; Scalera 1997). On the other hand, NNTAs could have it easier than NTAs in interactions dealing with educational, social, and cultural matters specifically related to U.S. life. The lack of shared knowledge could have a negative effect on the communication between NTAs and heritage learners, if NTAs do not sufficiently consider the particular linguistic and cultural characteristics of these students.

Towards a Pedagogical Framework for FL Classrooms with HL Learners

In the previous sections, we have described specific aspects of FL teacher-HL learner interaction in order to emphasize their essential role in the development of a successful pedagogical framework for FL education in multicultural contexts. The three main components of our analysis—social and cultural background, pedagogical conditions, and affective dimensions—cannot be addressed separately, but rather should be considered as interrelated factors within a dynamic community with its own culture defined by multiple identities, roles, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors (Holliday 1994). This section focuses on recent recommendations and initiatives that have captured the significance of such factors at a pedagogical and an administrative level.

With regard to the pedagogical interaction between the classroom participants, the first major recommendation refers to the advantages that FL teachers may find in establishing connections with their students' heritage cultures and dialect varieties (Romero 2000). Respect and interest in the language and cultural experiences that students bring to the classroom may have a positive effect on the overall levels of motivation and attitudes among participants. In addition, all FL teachers are urged to know their students in terms of not only their linguistic and intellectual abilities, but also their personal and academic interests (Ariza 1998; Clair and Adger 1999). This recommendation might even involve a paradigm shift from traditional FL instruction; i.e. students would bring to class what they need to drive the curriculum, so that both curriculum and classroom interaction become more intrinsically interesting and personally relevant to heritage students (Romero 2000). Keeping in mind the difficulties involved in such action, especially in institutions with many teachers, a possible pedagogical compromise could be to incorporate multicultural resources into the instruction (Rodríguez Pino 1997). These resources could come from the different areas where the target language is spoken, including the heritage community. Students could be exposed to a range of materials so they could develop their receptive and productive skills, while at the same time learning to appreciate some of the essential linguistic characteristics of different varieties. Students could also be asked to participate in the collection of information about their communities beyond what their textbook may offer. This process could involve the use of different ethnographic techniques, such as the development of unstructured and semi-structured interviews by which students could gather data on particular linguistic, social, cultural, historical, and political topics.[7]

Another major recommendation for teaching HL students in FL classrooms deals with using the linguistic diversity of the participants as a learning tool for both teachers and students (Draper and Hicks 2000). As Villa points out in his paper on varieties of Spanish (1996), the crucial issue is now "the goals of the instructor or the academic institution with regard to mastery of the written language," since the issue of imposing any spoken variety has been challenged (p. 198). Further consideration should be given to the use of codeswitching in the FL classroom, especially in advanced-level courses where proficiency in both target and native language may be more balanced. Riegelhaupt (2000) reviews some possibilities for codeswitching as a pedagogical strategy in bilingual methodology. These include: (a) presenting content in one language, and then directly translating the material into the other language, (b) specifying one language for a given subject, and (c) using the two languages interchangeably.

A recent initiative in the field of Spanish for Native Speakers (SNS) has been the publication of a monograph by AATSP (2000) intended to assist teachers with the needs of HL speakers of Spanish who may enroll in their classes. This volume brings together several researchers in the field of Spanish-language instruction in order to review its history, and to examine some of the most current initiatives and considerations in areas like varieties of Spanish spoken in the United States, teacher and student motivation, placement tests, assessment of linguistic skills, instructional materials. However, to date, no textbook exists for training graduate students who may be teaching or would like to teach HL students (Carreira, personal communication).

At the administrative level, decisions need to be made as to the goals of any FL program with a significant population of heritage learners, and the professional and material resources to achieve these goals. Recent large-scale projects carried out by teams of researchers, teachers, and administrators have begun to lay the foundations for programs specifically designed to prepare FL teachers to work more effectively with HL learners. For example, the Hunter College Project (Webb and Miller 2000) gathered successful teaching practices and materials from many teachers who worked with HL learners. These materials were then examined and tested by a number of specialists in assessment, linguistics, and sociolinguistics. This project resulted in numerous recommendations concerning instructional practices, student attitudes toward FL learning, teacher knowledge and beliefs, and assessment and standards for HL learners. In addition, the Hunter College Project sought to establish a model for teacher education based on collaboration and practice, which eventually became a methods course specifically designed for the teaching of HL learners. The new course allows FL teachers to familiarize themselves with rather complex theoretical notions such as language use and variety, bilingualism, and language attitudes. At the same time, teachers have the opportunity not only to examine these notions within the classroom context but also

> to come to their own understanding of issues identified by others and to problematize the assumptions underlying such identification. By allowing participants to reframe questions, to offer new definitions, and to produce a set of guiding principles and goals to guide their practice, project leaders invited teachers to "own" both the challenges and the solutions (Valdés 2000, p. 246).

Further Research on Heritage Language Learners in FL Classrooms

In this paper, we have examined the pedagogical, social, cultural, and political conditions of FL classrooms with HL learners. We have also noted a possible tendency in studies on HL learners toward producing anecdotal reports on instructional practices with this diverse group of students. It is not our intention to disregard the value of these studies, especially considering the extremely positive influence that they have had in the development of successful HL programs and accommodations for HL learners in mainstream FL courses. Rather, our purpose is to suggest other possibilities for inquiry into the complex characteristics of FL classrooms that include a hetereogeneous student population.

The analysis of classroom interaction from different theoretical and methodological perspectives could provide better and more comprehensive explanations of classroom phenomena. In the last 30 years, a growing number of studies in educational research have combined quantitative and qualitative methodologies, in an attempt to discern the most appropriate methods for particular research questions. The combination (or "triangulation") of diverse methods for the collection and analysis of data on classroom interaction may extend the researchers' view of the area(s) which they investigate, thereby avoiding partial or distorted conclusions. This methodology may allow researchers to apprehend the participants' different views, and to put the whole situation into perspective. Some studies dealing with HL learners have incorporated different research methods and techniques in order to analyze the social and personal context of these classrooms. Apart from the Hunter College Project, in which the school-based research employed classroom observations and interviews, the Center for Research on Education, Diversity & Excellence (2000) explored possible sociocultural factors in the interaction between Latino language minority students and Latino paraeducators, through the implementation of structured interviews, informal conversations, classroom observation schedules, and extensive ethnographic reports on the HL community.

We hope that the current climate of interest and support provided by institutions like the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL), and the National Foreign Language Center (NFLC) contributes to further dialogue and collaboration between university administrators and FL departments, between faculty in the areas of linguistics and literatures, and between researchers, teachers, HL students, and the heritage community. This kind of professional interaction could facilitate the development of many other projects, studies of a smaller scope in which teachers and researchers could work together on the identification, analysis, resolution, and evaluation of immediate classroom problems.

A good example of a research study that investigates complex classroom phenomena is the Heritage Language Initiative (HIL) sponsored by the NFLC. This initiative takes into consideration issues concerning linguistic development as well as related public policy issues (McGinnis 2002). A word of caution: any research program seeking to achieve a comprehensive view of FL education and HL learners needs to account for the different levels of interaction between all classroom participant. For us, this has become an essential consideration for our own research agenda which involves the following foci:

- Teachers' discourse strategies to encourage participation or maintain pedagogical control in FL classrooms with heritage learners.

- Social and pedagogical implications of the use of codeswitching by teachers and/or students in advanced FL courses.
- Development of turn-taking and other discourse strategies in group work with heritage and non-heritage students.
- Beliefs and attitudes of native and non-native faculty (teaching assistants, lecturers, instructors, tenured professors) towards HL learners.
- Attitudes of different student groups toward their peers in FL classrooms.
- Awareness among Anglo and HL learners in advanced-level courses toward sociolinguistic issues.

Notes

1. For further information on placement policies, testing and assesment see e.g. Otheguy and Toro 2000; Peale 1991; Teschner 1983, 2000; Valdés 1997; Ziegler 1981.

2. "In Fall 1998, 43% of postsecondary instructional faculty and staff were employed part time as defined by their institution. Instructional faculty and staff at public 2-year institutions were the most likely group to be employed part time (62% versus 22 to 49% at other types of institutions)" (National Center for Education Statistics 2001). Further information about part-time faculty in postsecondary institutions can be found in this and other materials from the U.S. Department of Education.

3 Examples of such connections can be found in M. Wang (1996).

4. A 1997 survey published in the ADFL Bulletin (Welles 1999) indicates that graduate teaching assistants are responsible for 71.4% of all introductory language sections taught in PhD-granting FL departments. In general, the percentage of tenure- and non-tenure track faculty teaching undergraduate courses varies greatly according to the final degree offered; for example, in BA-granting institutions tenured and tenure-track faculty teach 65.4% of all undergraduate courses; in MA-granting institutions they teach 45.1%, and in PhD-granting they teach 29.1%. Welles points that: "The reliance on TAs in PhD-granting institutions and on part-time faculty in MA-granting institutions for the teaching of introductory sequences does not make good educational sense, but not because TAs or part-timers are bad teachers. This staffing pattern exacerbates the separation between upper- and lower-division courses at a time when departments are encouraging students to continue as majors or minors and to gain higher levels of linguistic and intellectual achievement" (p. 68).

5. As Maria Carreira in a personal communication points out, this situation hinges on FL departments being able to attract and train heritage students properly, as well as on the creation of courses and curricula that are relevant

to this population of graduate students. For instance, this means that traditional culture and literature courses may not be the only (or the most) appropriate component of such a curriculum. Other courses concerning the different arenas of use of the heritage languages in the U.S. might be in fact more relevant to such students.

6. In general, the attitudes and notions of the heritage language among its speakers may vary according to ethnolinguistic background. Specifically, group differences may reflect particular local and regional socioeconomic realities, interethnic relations between the dominant and subordinate groups, ethnolinguistic vitality, community expectations, demographic strength, and institutional support (Ramírez 2000, p. 293).
7. In addition, participants could also bring into the classroom materials related to the professional use of the foreign language in the U.S. This could imply a paradigmatic change with regard to what is considered at the heart of the FL curriculum. In the specific case of Spanish, this could also raise the status of the U.S. as a Spanish-speaking country worthy of being studied as such by university students with a major in Spanish. In order for this to happen, there needs to develop a community of scholars interested in HLs as viable means of communication in media, marketing forces, educational institutions, business, etc. (Carreira, personal communication).

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Near-Native Speakers in the Foreign-Language Classroom: The Case of Haitian Immigrant Students

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The Challenges Presented by the Near-Native Speaker

According to Blyth (1995) "the constant challenge facing [language] teachers is to create a sense of belonging, a community, despite very real differences in their students' L2 proficiency" (p. 170). Nowhere is this task more difficult than in a classroom composed of students whom many would consider native or near-native speakers of the target language alongside students who are traditional language learners. As Bialystok and Hakuta (1994) assert: "the exciting challenge for teachers and learners of a second language, from a cultural perspective, is to construct a context for creative and meaningful discourse by taking full advantage of the rich personal, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds of the participants" (p. 203). Native or near-native speakers in the foreign language classroom can offer insights into the target culture that are extremely valuable; their descriptions of firsthand experiences often leave lasting impressions on their classmates. At the same time, their role in the communicative classroom is often ill-defined, and their effect on their classmates and even on their teachers may sometimes be intimidating rather than facilitating. As Draper and Hicks (2000) point out: "Teachers of foreign languages find themselves teaching classes in which an increasing percentage or even a majority of the students are not the traditional foreign language learners that teachers were trained to teach" (p. 16). Therefore, program coordinators and language directors must develop strategies to prepare instructors and teaching assistants to cope with many of the issues associated with the diverse linguistic populations they will find in their classes. One way of doing so is by gaining an understanding of these "non-traditional" students and their specific backgrounds and needs.

The implications of having "heritage speakers" in the American foreign language classroom have received a great deal of attention in recent years, due especially to the growth of Hispanic immigrant and first generation populations (see Andrews 2000; Benjamin 1997; Gutiérrez 1997; Pino and Pino 2000; Valdés 1995; Valdés 1998a). Draper and Hicks (2000) define a "heritage speaker" as:

> someone who has had exposure to a non-English language outside the formal education system. It most often refers to someone with a home background in the language, but may refer to anyone who has had in-depth exposure to another language. Other terms used to describe this population include "native speaker," "bilingual," and "home background." While these terms are often used interchangeably, they can have very different interpretations (p. 19).

There is a general notion that a "heritage speaker" in the United States is someone who has been brought up speaking a language other than English at home. Most researchers agree that many of these speakers should be considered native speakers of that language as well. As scholars have noted, however, the term "native speaker" is not well-defined (see Davies 1991; Medgyes 1996; Paikeday 1985), and its application to foreign language pedagogy is not nearly as clear as one would hope (see Blyth 1995; Cook 1999; Kramsch 1997; Valdes 1998b; Widdowson 1994).

What about the term "near-native speaker"? This classification is even more ambiguous. As Koike and Liskin-Gasparro (1999) explain:

> The finding from our surveys of a lack of consensus about what NNP [near native proficiency] means, along with some cavalier approaches to operationalization on the part of search committee respondents (reflected in such comments as "you know it when you hear it" and "since it is so widely used, we assumed that the profession probably agrees on what it means") is disturbing, to say the least (p. 59).

In their article, Koike and Liskin-Gasparro focus mainly on non-native speakers who consider themselves to be highly proficient in the language that they hope to teach at the university level in the United States. Perhaps a better term for these individuals would be "highly proficient non-native speakers." The term "near-native speaker" applies more aptly to speakers of the target language whose intuitions about and experiences with the target language are more like those of natives than those who have learned the language in traditional language programs. Near-native speakers tend to have been raised in former colonized countries in which they spoke and studied the target language along with their first language, often in a diglossic situation. Their language skills can be close to those of a native speaker, yet at the same time, they do not have the same level of proficiency as that of a "true" native speaker. Unlike the native speaker, they are more comfortable in another language, and they feel that it is in this other language that they can express themselves with the most ease (see Valdman 1984, p. 83).

Although many studies have been conducted on heritage speakers in the Spanish classroom, there has not been a great deal of research done on one particular group of near-native speakers of French: Haitian immigrants who have studied French in Haitian schools and who are now studying French at an American university.[1] Because Americans have many incorrect perceptions about the Haitians and their linguistic background, it is important for educators in French language programs to have an accurate description of Haitian students' language skills. This article presents a case study that focuses on Haitian immigrant students. It is based on the results of surveys conducted with them and their classmates, personal observations, and other data. I discuss and explain some of the misconceptions about Haitian immigrants and provide a description of the Haitian students' experience learning French in the United States. The Haitians' first-hand accounts, which appear in their answers to the survey, reveal the benefits and problems linked to their presence in the American university classroom.

The Haitians are the only group targeted in this study, but its results have broader implications and can offer insights into the larger issue of the plight of speakers of "minority languages" who study foreign languages in the United States (see Valdés 1995). Through an analysis of the effects of the presence of near-native speakers on their classmates, general conclusions can be reached about how to integrate students of varying levels of proficiency and language exposure successfully into the same classroom. As the population of students studying languages in the United States becomes more diverse, it is important to examine the changing dynamics of the language classroom, as well as the language community that develops in that setting. As more research of this type becomes available, language program directors and instructors will be able to design programs and courses more effectively to suit the needs of their various student populations.

This article is organized in the following manner. First, there is a description of how the study was designed and conducted, along with a discussion of the benefits and inherent flaws of survey-driven research. The next section describes the Haitian linguistic and sociolinguistic predicament and explains why it is difficult to generalize about the Haitians' linguistic competence or proficiency in French. Then, the results of the survey are presented. Included are statements by participants that show both the reactions of the Haitian students' classmates to the Haitians in their classes and the Haitian students' attitudes towards studying French in the United States. The conclusion provides an analysis of the diversity and proficiency issues that arise from this particular group's presence in the French foreign language classroom and gives suggestions to program directors for integrating these students into French classes. Parallels with the problems of heritage students of Spanish in the United States are drawn, and at the same time, it is argued that the Haitians need to be considered separately, since their situation is somewhat unusual.

Research Design

This is a case study involving twenty-two Haitian students, sixteen non-francophone students,[2] and seven Belgian and French students enrolled at a New Jersey university.[3] The university has a large population of Haitian students who have a noticeable presence on campus. Due to the fact that the university has a language requirement, many Haitian students choose to study French.[4] Some Haitian students enroll in classes that are too elementary for them, hoping to receive a high grade. At the same time, after experiencing success in their French classes, many decide to major or minor in French. It is important to point out that of the twenty-two Haitian students, only twelve were immigrants. They had lived in Haiti for an average of eleven and a half years and had attended Haitian schools for an average of six years. The remaining ten students were Americans born to Haitian immigrant parents, and they had lived exclusively in the United States.

The Haitian immigrant students had enrolled in university courses beginning at the third year level. They then studied various offerings, including courses in French cultural studies, literature, and linguistics. Many had taken an advanced grammar course that was required for the French major. The American students of Haitian descent were enrolled primarily in intermediate level courses in order to complete the university's language requirement. Some intended to minor in French, because they had been successful in their intermediate courses, but others were not planning to continue their study of French. All these students considered themselves native speakers of Creole, and the students who were born in the United States were bilingual speakers of English. None of the students felt more comfortable expressing him/herself in French rather than in Creole. For the survey, which was the principal instrument of this study, the students were told that they could answer the questions in English or in French, and they all chose to answer in English.

Because this project depends heavily upon surveys that were conducted with a particular group of students at one public university, it is important to consider the drawbacks of the methodology and to examine the validity of such a case study. I would like to point out that the participating students are representative of Haitian students who attend American universities in general, since they exhibit a type of linguistic diversity that is common among Haitians throughout the United States and Haiti. One might argue that the students may not have responded objectively to the survey because I knew approximately half of them, and several had been or were currently students in my classes. In fact, I knew all the Haitian immigrant students, since they were majoring in French and had taken upper level courses with me. At the same time, however, my relationship to these students can also be seen as an advantage. They were aware of my sincere interest in Haiti and Creole, and some had participated in interviews that contributed to an article I had written about Haitian linguistic identity (see Katz 1998). Thus, they were aware that my purpose was to benefit Haitian students, and I believe that that knowledge encouraged them to take the surveys more seriously. The students also were asked not to comment on me specifically or on my classes. In addition, since the survey was conducted during my last semester as a professor at the university, the students knew that they would not have me as their teacher again. Although my bias is inevitable (I had had positive experiences working with the Haitian students and had developed close relationships with many of them), at the same time, my experience with these students helped me to develop a suitable questionnaire. I had come to recognize and appreciate many of the issues that tend to arise in a classroom with students of different linguistic proficiencies and backgrounds, and I wanted to learn what the Haitian and non-Haitian students had to say about their experience.

One survey was distributed to immigrant Haitian students and American students of Haitian descent who were or had been enrolled in French courses at the university (see Appendix A). The students were told that participating in the survey was optional. Also optional was filling out the personal information asked for at the beginning of the survey, although students were assured that their answers would be kept confidential. The Haitian students' classmates were also surveyed (see Appendices B and C). All the non-francophone students were former or current students of mine, and many were French majors or minors. The Belgian and French students (all native speakers of French) were either former students or visiting scholars in the university's French department who had had a significant amount of contact with the Haitian students.

Two major goals of the study were to examine the Haitian students' attitudes toward learning French in the United States and to determine their role as language learners in the communicative French classroom. The Haitians' survey contained questions such as the following: Did they feel that they had an advantage because they already knew French or Creole, or did they find themselves at a disadvantage because their instructors expected them to have the same competence in French as would traditional native speakers of French? Did they believe that their teachers (and classmates) expected too much or too little from them? Did they find their teachers aware of and sensitive to their particular linguistic background? Did they think that their teachers spoke French well? Did they feel compelled to appear "native-like" to their American classmates, who might consider them to be francophone? They were also asked whether they felt Creole was a legitimate language and what they knew of Creole's relationship to French.

Another goal of the study was to discover the impact of the Haitian students on their non-francophone classmates and to analyze how the dynamic of having near-native speakers in French language classes contributed to the language development of their classmates. On their survey, the non-francophone students were asked to describe their interactions with their Haitian classmates. Were the Haitians intimidating? Were they helpful? Did they provide information that was culturally interesting? Finally, in another survey, the native speakers of French were asked whether they considered the Haitians native speakers of French and whether they felt the need to modify their French when communicating with them. The surveys were largely qualitative, as students were asked to provide essay-style answers to many of the questions. Their thoughts and comments are shared below, along with the tabulated results from some of the quantitative sections of the survey.

Who are the Haitians?

In contrast to the many Hispanic students in the United States, Haitian immigrants or the children of Haitian immigrants who study French in American schools make up a different category of non-traditional language learners. The Haitians usually do not consider themselves native speakers of French; instead they are "heritage speakers" of Haitian Creole, a language that is rarely studied in the United States.[5] Unfortunately, there is a widespread lack of understanding about the linguistic background of Haitians, Haitian immigrant students, American born children of Haitian immigrants, and also about Haitian Creole. This ignorance creates a difficult situation for all involved: the Haitian students' teachers and classmates, and the Haitian students themselves. Webb (2000) acknowledges that when he began teaching French to Haitian immigrant students, his own insecurities made it difficult for him to know how best to work with them:

> At that time, I did not know much about Haiti, or Haitians, or the Haitian language issues, and I certainly did not speak *Créole* back then, as I do now. I did not know that [my Haitian student] was adding *Créole* to the French that he spoke. I thought that our difficulties in communicating stemmed from my own inadequacies in French, and it made me feel uneasy and insecure . . . All I know is that I did not know what to do with . . . the . . . Haitian students in my classes (p. 9).

By working closely with Haitian students, Webb has developed an understanding of the Haitians' unique situation and how it affects their learning French in American schools.

Many French teachers, however, have little accurate information about Haiti. Consider, for example, the 2001 AATF (American Association of Teachers of French) essay writing contest, which is judged by American teachers of French. A student winner wrote that it is important for people to learn to speak French, so that they can communicate with and help people from third world francophone countries, such as Haiti. Is Haiti truly a francophone country? The term *francophone* is ambiguous. Does it mean that the population of a given country speaks French, or that French is an official language in the country? The best definition of a francophone country that I was able to find comes from the an online course at the University of Minnesota at Morris entitled "Literature and Culture of French-Speaking Africa and the Caribbean" (http://genedweb.mrs.umn.edu/hum1301/info/sample/what.shtml). According to this web site, francophone countries are defined as being at least one of the following:

1. Those where the maternal language is French (Europe and Canada).
2. Creole-speaking countries (where French is usually learned as a second language, but is the origin of the creole being spoken).
3. Those where French is either an official language or is widely spoken (which were, for the most part, colonies).
4. Those where French is considered a language "of privilege", spoken only by the educated and upper classes (as in central and eastern Europe).

Categories 2, 3, and 4 can be applied to Haiti, although 4 is the most accurate description of the linguistic situation of Haiti. According to

Auger and Valdman (1999), only a small percentage (2–10%) of the Haitian population is actually able to communicate in French (p. 411). The French-speaking group is composed of the Haitian elite, a powerful minority who has a very comfortable standard of living. Clearly, in order to teach our students correctly, "French teachers need to be better informed about the linguistic situation of non-Hexagonal francophone communities" (Auger and Valdman 1999, p. 410). If Haiti is indeed to be considered francophone, it should be stressed that French is spoken only by a small minority.

In addition to the misconception that Haitians necessarily speak French, there are also misunderstandings about the Creole language. Linguists differ in their analysis of the origins of Haitian Creole (see Aub-Buscher 1993, p. 200), but most agree that it is not a dialect of French, but a separate language.[6] As Valdman (1984) explains: "French and Creole are two distinct languages, not two varieties of the same language as are, for instance, High German and Swiss German in German-speaking Switzerland. Indeed, French and Creole are not even genetically related in the way French and Latin are, for example" (p. 79). Although there are some lexical similarities between French and Creole, Creole's syntactic and morphological structures resemble African languages more than French.[7] Ferguson refers to Haiti as an example of diglossia in his seminal article (1959); Valdman (1984), however, disagrees that Haiti is diglossic, pointing out that Creole and French are distinctly different languages and that Creole may be used in most situations at the present time in Haiti (p. 79). It is important to note, however, that speaking French remains very prestigious in Haiti, and speaking it well can open doors that remain closed for monolingual Creole speakers. Furthermore, it is false to assume that if people are native speakers of Creole, they can understand French. They may be able to understand various words and expressions, since much of the lexicon of Haitian Creole is French-based; however, they are not necessarily capable of understanding a great deal of the spoken or written language (written Creole looks nothing like written French). For example, in Katz (1998), a Haitian immigrant student said that when he lived in Haiti, his mother used to take him and his brother with her when she went to public offices, since he and his brother spoke French and she spoke only Creole.[8]

Another misunderstanding about Haiti is that the language of instruction in Haitian schools is French. In the past, Haitian children were instructed entirely in French, even though, with the exception of the small group of children of the elite, few spoke French at home. Due to the educational reforms that began in the 1970s, and with Creole's receiving the status of a national language in the 1980s, Creole is now used in many Haitian elementary schools. This change has been met with great resistance, however, and not only by the elite. Daniel (2000) explains: "The decision to make Créole one of the official languages of Haiti is considered by some to be a democratic move, a move that gives voice to most of the Haitians. Others see it as a backward move, which could cause the country to be more isolated" (pp. 176–7). Indeed, old attitudes die slowly, as can be seen in some responses to the survey. One Haitian student wrote that he believed it a bad thing for Creole to be taught in Haiti's schools:

> We have so many schools in Haiti. We have some good schools and some bad schools. The good schools, they allow every child to speak French once you are in the school's ground. The bad schools, you can do whatever you want to do. I remember when I was there, every time you said something in Creole, you have to pay 50 cents. By the end of the day, you might pay a lot of money. The teacher bought candy and stuff for the pupil who never spoke Creole.

Surprisingly, this student is not alone in his assessment. When asked whether it is better that Haitian school children are now being taught in Creole, of the twenty-two Haitian students I interviewed, only four believed this was a positive change, while eleven students were unsure, and seven thought that it was unfortunate. Their responses show the complexity of the Haitians' feelings toward their native language.

Even when American teachers of French learn that Creole is not a bastardized form of French, that Haitians do not always speak French, and that Haitian immigrants may not have studied French in Haitian schools, there are problems integrating Haitian students into American French classes because of the large disparity in the students' mastery of French. As mentioned above, only a small percentage of Haitians are actually proficient in French. Some of the immigrants to the United States are from the highly educated upper class, but if they came to the United States at a very young age and did not receive a French education in the Haitian school system, their proficiency in French tends to be minimal or non-existent. The children of Haitian immigrants often speak no French at all. As in Haiti, there is a great range in people's proficiency in French, and having a low level of proficiency is something that Haitians want to hide.

The majority of the Haitian immigrant students who took part in this study, however, should be considered near-native French speakers. They all spoke Creole, not French, at home. In addition, their instruction in French in Haitian schools was interrupted before they attended high school, and they may have received some of their instruction in Creole instead of French. As mentioned earlier, the students of Haitian descent who were born in the United States are not near-native speakers of French and should not be considered as such. One of the issues that was revealed in this study is that often the non-Haitian students lumped all the Haitians together and did not realize that those who had not lived in Haiti were not near-native speakers of French. Unfortunately, the Haitian students' teachers often did the same thing.

The Haitian immigrant students who received a formal education in the French language in Haiti differ significantly from the Hispanic heritage speakers one finds in the United States. The Haitian immigrants are often highly literate, while the Hispanic students, like many other heritage students, have often received exposure only to spoken Spanish and have little proficiency in the grammar or spelling of the language. In addition, many Hispanic students speak a variety of Spanish that differs significantly from the pedagogical norm taught in their classes (see Gutiérrez 1997). Unlike the Hispanic students, the Haitians always know that the language they speak at home, Creole, is not the same as the language, French, which they learn at school.

Interestingly, the Haitian immigrants are sometimes obsessed with grammatical accuracy and are more prescriptive than native speakers of French. In fact, their written French is much more formal than that of students from France. For example, they tend to overuse the *passé simple,* a strictly literary tense, when writing about the past. At times these forms appear in their spoken language as well, which native French speakers find odd. The Haitians even take vocabulary from the literary texts they have studied and use words and expressions that are rarely found in modern French. At the same time, because they have received a great deal of exposure to current French television and radio shows, they know slang expressions and constructions found exclusively in the spoken language.

The Haitian students who speak little or no French are ashamed of this fact and attempt to portray themselves as more proficient to save face, especially in front of other Haitian students. As Katz (1998) explains:

> Haitians take great pride in speaking French well, since doing so shows that they are well-educated. R. [a Haitian immigrant student] said: "On a toujours tendance à dire que quelqu'un est intelligent si on parle bien le français." *'We always have the tendency to say that someone is intelligent if he speaks French well'* (p. 189).

Hence, many of the more proficient students and even some who are less so want others to consider them native speakers of French. One student admitted that if he is overheard speaking Creole and is asked what language it is, he replies that he is speaking French (Katz 1998, pp.18–8). Even though Creole is not as stigmatized in the United States as it is in Haiti, Buchanan (1979) points out that Haitian immigrants often "attempt to recreate Haiti on foreign soil. . . . Knowledge of French becomes one way they continue to maintain social distance by excluding from their social circles and organizations Haitians of lower social standing" (p. 307). When the students interviewed in this survey were asked whether speaking and writing French well was important to them, fifteen stated that it was, while only three disagreed, and four were unsure.

Survey Results

One of the most striking revelations of the survey was that many of the Haitian students did not understand Creole's relationship to French. When asked to respond to the statement "Creole is broken French," eight Haitian students agreed; three were not sure; and only eleven (fewer than half) disagreed. Sixteen of the twenty-two agreed that "Creole is a different language from French," two disagreed (both were born in the United States), and four were unsure. When the non-Haitians were asked on their survey if they knew what Creole was, fifteen responded that they did, and only one responded that (s)he did not. Nine thought that the Haitian students were native speakers of French, three did not, and four were not sure.

The non-Haitian students' assumption that the Haitians were native speakers of French may be based on a belief that the Haitians are native speakers by birthright. According to Rampton (1990), there often exists the misinformed idea that "a particular language is inherited, either through genetic endowment or through birth into the social group stereotypically associated with it" (p. 97). Despite the fact that the Haitians were learning French in their classes alongside them, the non-Haitian students still considered their classmates native speakers of French. The non-Haitian students heard the Haitians' accent when they spoke English, saw that they dressed differently, and learned that they had different cultural habits. And, of course, the non-Haitians shared the common misperception that Haiti is a French-speaking country. Elementary and intermediate American French textbooks always list Haiti as part of *La Francophonie*, and news reports about Haiti often refer to it as a "French-speaking" island.

Various scholars (see Davies 1991; Medgyes 1996; Paikeday 1985) have asserted that a good test to determine whether an individual is truly a native speaker of a language is to ask bona fide native speakers whether they regard them as such. Valdés (1998b) explains: "To be considered fully native, a speaker must be indistinguishable from other native speakers. When interacting with the individual, other native speakers should assume that he or she acquired the language from infancy" (p. 153). The seven native speakers of French were asked on their survey to comment on the French spoken by the Haitian students they knew at the University or elsewhere. Four answered that they believed that the Haitians were indeed native speakers, and three did not. In response to the question of whether they modified their French when speaking to the Haitians, five said that they did not, because it was not necessary, and two said that they did. Since this is such a small sample, it is not possible to generalize whether other native speakers would consider Haitian students native speakers of French.

Some of the French native speakers had interesting responses when asked if Creole is "bad French." One vehemently agreed:

> Le créole un mauvais français? Ah! là je dois avouer que le snobisme français ressort malgré l'influence multiculturelle de la vie universitaire. *Yes!*[9] Souvent à entendre parler entre eux aussi "sauvagement" certains élèves haitiens, c'est-à-dire sans souci d'articulation, de pose, de respect pour le côté musical du langage et en entendant certains mots qui semblaient être mi-français, mi-anglais, j'associais ce que je pensais être du haitien, à une macédoine de légumes. Les mots épluchés à vif, écorchés en fait, coupés, émincés à ne plus être reconnaissables, écrasés à ne reproduire qu'un son vaguement familier, survivant le triage et l'écarquillement par chance, ces mots-là me semblaient balancés dans la conversation comme de simples objets sonores *(noise makers).* Mais il faut dire aussi que les élèves en question peut-être utilisaient la langue comme de simples outils de travail, en vue d'apporter un message. Si ces étudiants avaient montré plus d'art dans l'expression j'en aurais eu une idée plus favorable. Tu vois, l'on ne peut vraiment se baser sur mon point de vue.
>
> *Is Creole bad French? Well, here I must admit that there is a certain French snobbery that comes out, despite the multicultural influence of the University.* Yes! *Often when I heard certain Haitian students speaking "barbarically" among themselves, that is to say without concern for articulation, composure, respect for the musical aspect of the language, and when I heard various words that seemed half-French, half-English, I associated what I thought to be Haitian with a chopped vegetable salad. Words peeled off and in fact flayed alive, cut up, sliced up to the point of no longer being recognizable, broken up such that they produced only a vaguely familiar sound, and this after passing*

> *through a haphazard filter—those words seemed thrown out in conservation as simple* noise makers. *But one must recognize also that the students in question were perhaps using the language as a simple tool to communicate a message. If they had expressed themselves more artistically, I would have had a more favorable impression. You see, my point of view is not the best on which to form a judgment.*[10]

Others attempted to be less harsh and more open-minded, while at the same time showing their European French bias:

> Je dirais plutôt que le créole est un français sans grammaire. Et que le lexique est, si ce n'est pauvre, en tout cas peu sophistiqué. Mais la langue, particulièrement orale et donc souple, exprime sa qualité selon d'autres critères. L'univers des créoles est de toute façon très différent de celui des français. Bref je ne dirais pas du mauvais français, mais un français différent. Pour un contexte socio-culturel différent.
>
> *I would say, rather, that Creole is a grammar-less French, and that its lexicon, if not impoverished, is in any case hardly sophisticated. But the quality of the language, which is quite oral and thus supple, is determined by other criteria. Anyway, the world of Creole is very different than that of the various forms of French. Briefly, I would say that Creole is not bad French, but a different French, and that it exists in a different socio-cultural context.*

Another remarked:

> Je ne pense pas que le créole soit du mauvais français, c'est un dérivé du français, une langue à la fois proche mais totalement différente, tirée du français. C'est une langue à part entière parlée dans beaucoup de pays aux Antilles et qui diffère encore selon les régions. On pourrait dire par contre que le français canadien, ou marseillais c'est du mauvais français, parce que c'est du français régional, avec un accent différent.
>
> *I do not think that Creole is bad French; it is derived from French. It is a language both close to yet totally different from French, from which it is taken. It is a language in its own right, spoken in many places in the Antilles, which differs moreover by region. On the contrary one could say that French spoken in Canada or Marseille is bad French because it is regional and carries a different accent.*

As demonstrated by the variety of answers to this question and the lack of understanding of Creole (even by the Haitians themselves), it becomes apparent why the role of the Haitians in the language classroom is so poorly defined.

The Dynamics of a Multilingual Classroom

The Experience of the Non-Francophone Students

A class composed of a mixture of Haitian and non-Haitian students presents special pedagogical dilemmas. Some problems that arise do not necessarily derive from linguistic factors; there are also racial and cultural issues. For example, when non-francophone students were asked if they would choose a Haitian student as a partner for a group activity or if they liked to work in pairs with Haitian students, several respondents expressed indignation about the misleading question, which they apparently perceived as intending to discover if they were racist. One answered that he "wouldn't choose someone by race" and another wrote that she is "accepting of all races."

Several students cited cultural differences for why they might not be friendly with their Haitian classmates. One student remarked that the Haitians tended to "clump together in class," and that it was difficult to approach them. Another comment was: "The Haitian students kept to themselves in one part of the classroom, sometimes giving the impression of being disinterested in the class." A student pointed out: "This really is more a matter of social comfort. I would choose a friend over a classmate I didn't know as well to work with in pairs or a group." Another expressed similar sentiments: "I would choose someone I was comfortable with. I have a tendency to prefer working with females due to previous bad encounters with males (usually in a school setting), but race has nothing to do with my choices. Most of the Haitian students in my classes have been males and I tend to shy away from them."

One reason why students might not choose the Haitians for group work is that they have difficulty understanding the Haitians when they speak. Several students mentioned the Haitians' "soft, low voices," their foreign accent, their use of unfamiliar vocabulary, and their rapid speech. Five students agreed that they had "a hard time understanding the Haitian students when they speak French"; nine agreed that sometimes this was the case, and only two said that this was not a problem.

On the other hand, the non-francophone students had a positive reaction when required to do group work with the Haitians, partly because the Haitian students tended to be extremely polite and soft-spoken. Words such as "nice," "friendly," and "helpful" can be found in almost every student's comments about the Haitians, though they sometimes added that they realized that they were stereotyping the Haitians. In general, however, the Haitians were perceived as non-threatening and even comforting allies in the foreign language classroom.[11]

Perhaps most important, the non-francophone students also saw the benefit of working with students whose spoken French was considerably better than theirs. Many of the students commented on the fact that the Haitians would help them with the problems that they were having, especially with the spoken language. Their positive comments included the following:

- Choosing a Haitian partner can help with one's skills.
- Their spoken French is usually much better than mine (grammar, vocab, accent, etc).
- I think they are nice and most of the time willing to help non-native speakers with their pronunciation and classwork.
- The Haitian students' native language is French; therefore it makes it easier to work in groups with them because they might understand certain things better than a non-native.
- I appreciate the fact that someone is able to correct my mistakes while speaking French.
- I haven't had any negative experiences with the Haitian students. They were all very nice and pleasant people. It was always good to work with them in pairs or doing group work, since they seemed to know or comprehend the language a little better than other students. They were usually very agreeable, willing to help, and knowledgeable.
- [The Haitian students] can sometimes explain some things that a professor is having trouble explaining.
- I think having Haitian students was very positive because the ones I have come across have been friendly and helpful. They are always willing to jump in if you get stuck and help you find words and work on pronunciation.

The amiable personalities of the Haitians and their willingness to help their American classmates seem to be the reasons why the non-francophone students did not feel intimidated speaking in front of their Haitian classmates. When asked to agree or disagree with the statement, "In general, I don't like speaking French in front of my Haitian classmates," one student responded: "I am not necessarily more loathe to speak in front of them than generally." Of the fifteen students who answered this question, only two agreed that they did not like speaking in front of the Haitians; ten disagreed with the statement, and three were unsure.

One student wrote that her problems in understanding spoken French were not specific to the Haitian students: "I have a lot of trouble, especially last year, understanding spoken French at all. The Haitians and all other native French speakers, as well as some nonnative speakers (yourself included) speak faster than I can register." Some American students mentioned that the Haitian students spoke too quickly and used vocabulary their classmates did not understand. One student hypothesized that: "the hardest part would be understanding them, if they speak their dialect: Creole." Another student commented: "In the beginning of my college career I was afraid to speak in front of them, because I was intimidated by their ability to speak the language so much better than I could. As my ability improved, I looked forward to the opportunity to hold a conversation in French with someone such as a Haitian student who was comfortable doing so." The non-francophone students also came to realize that although the Haitians spoke better French than they did, this did not mean that the Haitian students' written work was necessarily superior. One student realized: "We are all students of European French and have things to learn and improve. While the Haitian students may have a bit of an edge, the other students may have other strengths. It is also a question of hard work, studying, and turning in assignments. It is very possible to be on the same level if not more advanced in French studies than a Haitian student." Another student remarked that seeing the Haitians having similar problems to his own made him feel more confident about his language skills: "Having Haitian students in my French classes has been a good experience, because it makes me realize that even the natives need polishing on their skills and abilities of using the language." His comments were illuminating, considering the fact that he was a heritage speaker of Spanish who had had considerable difficulty in his Spanish classes. Indeed, the Haitians provided an excellent model of the successful language learner and demonstrated that even near-natives must work hard to perfect their skills (see Medgyes 1996).

In general, the American students were delighted to have cultural informants from a francophone country present in their class. As Kramsch (1997) remarks: "Attempts have been made to expose students to the linguistic, social, and cultural diversity of those who claim to speak the same language—for example, Francophones in different parts of the world . . ." (p. 367). Commenting on the fact that some of the students might shy away from choosing Haitian partners for group work, one student said "it is interesting hearing French from . . . countries other than France." Another American learned that the Haitians "have a different perspective on culture and life in general." She went on to say that they offered important "insights into francophone cultures and different perspectives in culture and literature classes." Another student pointed out that the Haitians "could tell first-hand stories of a culture that is French speaking, which I always appreciate." Several others mentioned that having the Haitian students in class is "a good cultural experience," or " a great way to learn about other (francophone) cultures." One student assumed that since Haiti was colonized by the French, its inhabitants would remain culturally "French": "The Haitians can give some cultural perspectives that are similar to France's (since Haiti was once a French colony)." Summing up the experience of having Haitians in his classes, a student observed: "They have been very nice, seemed to be in a good mood all the time, made class fun, shared their perspective on things, and their culture." As is discussed below, sharing their culture and enlightening Americans about the "real" Haiti are very important to Haitian students.

The Experience of the Haitian Students

The impact that the Haitian students have on their non-Haitian classmates has been described above to be overwhelmingly positive, despite the initial intimidation that the non-Haitians may have felt. It is also important, however, to remain sensitive to the pressure that Haitian students feel in the French foreign language classroom, due to assumptions that they should speak French as would native speakers. While some Haitian students are confident about their French and may sound even more native than their non-native teachers, others are nervous about making mistakes. In this section, the attitudes of the Haitian students about their learning experience in the American classroom are analyzed: specifically, their impressions of their American teachers, many of whom are non-native; their relationships with the other students in their classes; and their feelings about learning French in the United States in general.

Haitian immigrant students who have received much of their education in Haiti are often bewildered at first by the casual manner of many American professors. In Haiti, teachers are very strict, and students are severely punished for misbehaving. When the Haitians attend school in the United States, sometimes their behavior, which is meant to be respectful, is misunderstood. For example, as Webb (2000) points out, as a form of respect, Haitian immigrant students may lower their eyes when speaking to their teachers (p. 7). I have noticed that instead of saying that they do not know an answer to a question, the Haitians students may sit silently, looking down. At the same time, after being in the American system for a number of years, the Haitian students adapt. In fact, I found that once their trust had been won, the Haitians were often quite outspoken about their views.[12] Therefore, I expected them to give me honest answers to my questions about their impressions of their teachers in the United States.

When asked to agree or disagree with the statement, "I don't like to have my French corrected by American French professors," only one student agreed. Twelve disagreed, and seven were not sure. This was perhaps an ambiguous question, as students may have interpreted it as whether or not they minded being corrected in general. When they were asked to give a grade to all the French teachers they have had in the United States, the median grade was an A–/B+. Whether they were entirely honest in their assessment (since they were reporting their impressions to me, one of their professors) is debatable; as mentioned above, however, I think that the students were comfortable in reporting their true feelings.

The Haitian students take great pride in others' having high expectations for them. When asked whether their French teachers in the United States expected too much of them, only three of the Haitian students said yes. Nine disagreed, and eight said that this was sometimes the case. One student responded: "Sometimes. Because they think we understand French perfectly and it's not really hard for us. Sometimes they forget we have been living here for so long that we forgot everything that we learned in Haiti." When asked whether their French teachers have always known that Creole, and not French, was their native language, only nine responded affirmatively.

Fifteen of the Haitian students agreed that learning French was easier for them than it was for native speakers of English. Because they speak Creole, they understand a great deal of French vocabulary, and they have an easier time pronouncing certain phonemes. Some students wrote that they understood a lot of French because the church service they attended was conducted in French. Others attributed their advantage to having studied French when they were young in Haiti.

At the same time, like heritage learners who have not received instruction in the target language, the Haitian students who had not gone to school in Haiti have difficulties perfecting their spelling and grammar. Interference from Creole can make learning French even more difficult. A student explained: "One of the disadvantages of learning Creole is that it makes you forget French writing a little bit." Another mentioned that knowing Creole made him lazy when learning French. Another commented: "Because it is part broken-French it tends to make me work harder to understand French, but at the same time it can also make French easier." A student complained that Creole "is so diverse. I do not understand every Haitian 100% when they speak. It is not considered as a language. If you learn it, it won't do any good for you because you will not use it." Another commented that Creole is "not one of the main languages in today's society. I'm sure Spanish may help more than Creole."

When asked what the hardest thing about learning French in the United States was, however, only one student cited the influence of Creole. The fact that most of the Haitian students were still trying to master English was considered much more of a problem: "Sometimes I pronounce the words with an English accent instead of a French"; "The hardest thing about learning French in the U.S. is that the books are written in English and that somehow confuses me"; and "Understanding the grammar since it is not like English grammar." One student summarized the problem: "The hardest thing about learning French in the U.S. is that English keeps on getting in the middle of it."

In Haiti, unlike in the United States, students always had the opportunity to practice their French outside of class should they so desire. Now, the Haitian immigrant students have gone from learning French as a second language to learning French as a foreign language, which makes it much more difficult. Several students brought up this point when explaining the most difficult thing about learning French in the United States: "I don't have my friends to practice it"; "Not having people who speak French on an everyday and hour basis"; "You can't really practice your French outside of school"; and simply "Practicing it." A student, whose French happens to be quite good, lamented: "It is sad because I look like someone who has never been exposed to that language. You can learn it, read it, write it, but unless you have somebody to speak with, it won't do you any good." Indeed, this student has put his finger on the biggest problem with learning languages in the foreign language classroom. An hour a day simply does not provide enough input or the opportunity to practice what one has learned.

Haitian students have high standards for themselves and can be very critical of their own French, but they do not seem to hold their classmates to the same requirements. Six agreed that they felt embarrassed speaking French in their French classes (sixteen disagreed), and seven agreed that they felt embarrassed speaking French in front of French people. The same student mentioned above, whose French is very good, explained that he is hesitant to speak in front of French people, because: "I am afraid I might make some mistakes. I have three friends who are French. One of them always called me. She always speaks French. Sometimes, before I say something, I have to think about it because I don't want to make any mistake and she thinks I speak French perfectly. Therefore I have to be careful about everything I say." Ironically, one of the French native speakers interviewed said that she was always careful when speaking in front of the Haitians, because she had the impression that they were always waiting for her to make a mistake.

Some children of Haitian immigrants are self-conscious about not understanding the difference between Creole and French. As much as their Haitian heritage is important to them, they are Americans and know little about Haiti and the Creole language. An intermediate level student who was born in the United States commented that she was embarrassed to speak in front of French people: "As a person who speaks Creole, sometimes I incorporate Creole by force of habit and I feel as though I am making a mockery of the French language." It is true that her spoken French is at the same level as that of her classmates in terms of its grammatical accuracy, but her pronunciation and fluency are markedly better.

Indeed, the Haitian students often possess contradictory and confused feelings toward their native Creole. At the same time, they tend to have a strong national identity and pride in being Haitian. When asked whether they wanted people to know they were Haitian, students unanimously agreed. An immigrant student wrote: "To deny that I am Haitian would be to deny myself, my whole being." Another immigrant said: "It's a great feeling to be Haitian specially when you're speaking Creole and people be like "What's that?"" Twenty students agreed that Creole is a beautiful language. Only two concluded that French is a more beautiful language than Creole, although eight were not sure: "Each has its good qualities. French is definitely more seductive"; "I like Creole because it's different and I like French because it's soft and romantic"; "[French] sounds better. Not as rough. Sounds smoother." At the same time, they spoke of mixed feelings about their national origins. One student commented: "Many people that are Haitian won't let others know their nationality because they don't want to be stereotyped or discriminated against. There are many stereotypes that people have about Haitians. Many people are ashamed to let people know their nationality because of this." Conversely, Haitian immigrants use their language and linguistic identity to avoid being grouped with African Americans (see Buchanan 1979; Katz 1998). The Haitian students believe that the main advantage of knowing Creole is that it is a link to their families, their heritage, and their culture. They would like Americans to learn to speak Creole, but they are more interested in Americans' understanding and appreciating Haitian culture and history. The Haitian students want their classmates to learn what they consider to be the truth about Haiti and put an end to misconceptions and stereotypes. The following are the most commonly mentioned facts about Haiti that students would like Americans to know:

- People should not believe everything they see on television or read about Haiti.

- Haiti was the first Black republic and has a very rich history.
- Haitians are a proud and dignified people.
- Haiti is a beautiful country, despite the widespread poverty.
- Not all Haitians are "voodoo practicing, devil worshippers." In fact, most Haitians are Christians.

An immigrant student advised: "To learn about Haiti is to travel to Haiti, to learn about the culture of the Haitians, to listen to the way in which some Haitians choose to speak Creole and French up on the hill and at all the prestigious institutions." Through their presence in United States French classes, the Haitians are able to share their perspectives with their classmates, especially if instructors give them the opportunity to express themselves.

Conclusion

Blyth (1995) states: "There are many immigrant communities throughout the United States that are readily available to foreign language education . . . Foreign language teachers will have to decide for themselves how best to use these largely untapped resources" (p. 172). In order for teachers to tap these resources, it is vital that everyone involved understand the linguistic backgrounds of these heritage, near- or non-native speakers. As Auger and Valdman (1999) point out, "French teachers should know that French is spoken by only a minority of the population of many so-called francophone countries" (p. 411). In the case of the Haitians, teachers should make an effort to find out which students have studied French in Haiti and/or speak French at home, and which ones know exclusively Creole. In addition, teachers should make the other students in the class aware that Creole is not broken French and that most of the Haitians are also learners of French.

How does one create linguistic awareness? As Gutiérrez (1997) and Andrews (2000) have pointed out, it is advantageous for program directors to integrate sociolinguistic topics into today's curricula. Discussing linguistic variation, attitudes towards stigmatized languages, and the linguistic identities of various groups is important in today's classroom. This type of information should be included in textbooks, beginning at the elementary level. Pino and Pino (2000) found that students of Spanish greatly appreciated receiving material to help them understand Southwest Spanish and what makes it unique. The same should be done for Haitian Creole. Students could be taught about the concept of diglossia, the effects of colonization, and the use of language as an instrument of oppression and exclusion. As one Haitian student wrote in an essay:

> C'est peut-être bizarre, mais les problèmes que Haiti souffre aujourd'hui sont enracinés dans la langue. Je ne pense pas que la langue française est mauvaise, mais beaucoup de gens l'ont mal utilisée pour faire souffrir les pauvres qui ne peuvent pas aller à l'école.
>
> *Perhaps it's strange, but the problems that Haiti suffers today are rooted in language. I don't think that the French language is bad, but a lot of people have used it badly to make the poor people who can't go to school suffer.*

American students need to be made aware of these kinds of issues in order to understand the implications that speaking or not speaking a particular language can have for many people. Teaching assistants need to be exposed to this information, and they need to learn strategies for integrating it into their classes.

After solving the problem of how to create language awareness, teachers then face the issue of how to deal with heterogeneous language proficiencies in the same classroom. As discussed by Pino and Pino (2000), it is vital that students be placed into appropriate course levels (p. 27). The situation of the Haitian immigrant students is not complicated since those who speak French well usually have studied the language formally in Haiti. These students also have strong writing skills, and they can easily be integrated into upper level classes. Those who know Creole but have not studied French are in a more complex situation. They may have somewhat of an advantage in understanding the spoken French language and in speaking, but their proficiency is usually minimal. Students need to realize that the spoken and written codes of a language differ significantly, and that being fluent does not necessarily mean being literate. Armed with greater language awareness, instructor and students can work together to cultivate a supportive and dynamic learning environment for all.

Notes

1. There are large numbers of Haitian immigrants in New York City, Northern New Jersey, Miami, and Boston.
2. I will refer to the non-native speakers of either French or Creole simply as "non-francophone" students. Some of these students are native speakers of other languages (for example, Spanish or Polish), and therefore cannot be called "anglophone."
3. This survey was conducted in the spring of 2001 at Montclair State University. I would like to thank the students who agreed to be interviewed.

4. It is interesting to note that being fluent in Haitian Creole is not considered adequate for placing out of the language requirement at many universities in the United States. This practice goes along with the widely held misconception that Haitian Creole is not a legitimate language.

5. Creole is currently being taught in a handful of American universities. In addition, some public secondary schools with large Haitian populations have incorporated Creole into their curricula (see Daniel 2000).

6. It is important to note that Haitian Creole differs significantly from the French-based Creoles spoken in Martinique and Guadeloupe. One student's father was from Haiti and her mother was from Martinique. Because they could not understand the other's Creole, they spoke French to each another.

7. See Valdman 1982 and 1984 for a description of some of the phonological, morphological, semantic and syntactic properties of Haitian Creole.

8. Apparently his mother needed an interpreter, but there are probably other factors that play a role in this situation as well. This woman knew that she would be treated better if she had her French-speaking sons with her, since speaking French conveys social status and implies having received a good education.

9. All English words were written by the French correspondent.

10. Native speakers of Spanish who have had contact with heritage speakers of Spanish in the United States tend to have similar impressions of the latter's Spanish (see Colombi and Alarcón 1997; Merino et al. 1993; Valdés 1998).

11. These results appear more positive than Pino and Pino's (2000) study, in which 25% of the true beginners in classes with heritage students agreed that they felt intimidated by more proficient learners. On the other hand, the students in the current survey are not true beginners, so it is not a fair comparison.

12. For example, I remember when the Elian Gonzales story was in the news, my Haitian students were quite candid during class discussions. They considered the immigration policies of the United States hypocritical and racist. Several of the students angrily argued that had Elian been Haitian, he would have been returned to Haiti in a matter of days.

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Appendix A

Survey for Haitian Immigrant Students

Instructions: Please answer all the questions below to the best of your knowledge. Detailed answers would be greatly appreciated. Thank you very much for participating in this survey.

1. Name:
2. Age:
3. phone number:
4. e-mail address:
5. Where were you born?
6. How many years have you lived in the U.S?
7. How many years did you live in Haiti?
8. In what year did you leave Haiti to move to the U.S?
9. Have you lived anywhere else?
   If yes, where and for how long?
10. How many years did you go to school in Haiti?
11. When you went to school in Haiti, were classes conducted:
    a. Exclusively in French
    b. Exclusively in Creole
    c. In both French and Creole

    If you answered *c,* what percentage of the time was French used ______ %, and what percentage of the time was Creole used: ______ % in your classes?
12. What language(s) do you speak with your family? Please list them in order of how often you speak each language; then give the percentage of time you spend speaking each language.

Language 1	______ %
Language 2 (if applicable)	______ %
Language 3 (if applicable)	______ %
Language 4 (if applicable)	______ %

13. What is the language that you learned first?
14. In which language do you feel the most comfortable doing the following things. Please rank them from 1 to 3, which 1 being the MOST comfortable, and 3 being the LEAST.

Speaking	Creole ______	French ______	English ______
Writing	Creole ______	French ______	English ______
Reading	Creole ______	French ______	English ______
Comprehending the spoken language	Creole ______	French ______	English ______

15. When you moved to the U.S., did you have classes taught to you in another language (did you participate in a biligual program)?

    Yes No

    If yes, what language(s):

    and for how many years?

16. How many years have you taken French courses in the U.S.?
17. Number of years before college:
18. Number of years at college:
19. How many teachers of French have you had in the U.S.?
20. Please rank these teachers on the level of their French (do not use their names): for example: Teacher 1: B+, Teacher 2: A-, etc. (Please do not include Dr. Katz, since she is conducting this survey)

    Teacher 1

    Teacher 2

    Teacher 3

    Teacher 4

    Teacher 5

    (please add more, if necessary)

21. Is French easier for you than it is for native speakers of English?

    Yes No

    Why or why not?

22. What is the hardest thing about learning French in the U.S. for you?
23. Do you feel that your French teachers expect too much of you?

    Why or why not?

24. Have your French teachers known that Creole is your native language, and not French?

    always sometimes rarely never

25. If you had the choice, would you study Creole instead of French at the university?

    Yes No Not sure

26. What are the advantages of learning Creole?
27. What are the disadvantages of learning Creole?
28. Do you think that Americans are ignorant about Haiti and Haitians?

    Yes No Not sure

29. What would you like for Americans to know about Haiti? Please be specific.
30. Should Haiti be studied in French classes in the U. S.?

    Yes No Not sure

31. Should American students study Creole instead of French?

    Yes No Not sure

32. Is it a good thing that Haitians living in Haiti can go to school and be taught in Creole instead of in French now?

Yes No Not sure

Please explain your answer:

33. Has speaking French opened doors for you that would not have been opened otherwise?

Yes No Not sure

If yes, please explain:

34. Do you think that French courses in American universities are too Paris-oriented?

Yes No Not sure

35. Do you think that Creole is a beautiful language?

Yes No Not sure

36. Do you think that French is a more beautiful language than Creole?

Yes No Not sure

37. What aspects of Haitian culture should be included in American classes?

Agree or Disagree: (feel free to comment in the margins, if you wish)

Haiti is a francophone country.

Agree Disagree

Creole is a different language from French.

Agree Disagree

I like it when my French teacher brings up Haiti in class.

Agree Disagree Haiti is never brought up

I feel embarrassed speaking French in my French classes.

Agree Disagree

If you agree, please explain why:

I feel embarrassed speaking French in front of French people.

Agree Disagree

If you agree, please explain why:

I enjoy speaking French.

Agree Disagree

My children will speak Creole

Agree Disagree Not sure

What would you like American teachers of French from around the country to know about teaching Haitian immigrants and about integrating Haitian topics into their classes?

Appendix B

Survey for Classmates of Haitian Immigrant Students

I. General information:

a. Your name:

b. What is your major?

c. Please list the French courses you have taken at MSU:

d. In general, what grade do you usually get in your French classes? (ex: B-range, C-range, etc.)

II. Choose the appropriate answer:

All the following statements refer to the Haitian students who have been in your FRENCH CLASSES with you.

1. usually know who the Haitian students are.

Yes No

2. I like to do pair work with Haitian students.

Yes No Not sure

please explain your answer

3. If I have the choice, I'll choose a Haitian student as my partner for a group activity.

Yes No Not sure

please explain why or why not:

4. Haitian students are native speakers of French.

Yes No Not sure

comments:

5. I have a hard time understanding the Haitian students when they speak French.

Yes No Sometimes

comments:

6. In general, I don't like speaking French in front of my Haitian classmates.

Yes No Not sure

please explain:

7. I don't think that it's fair for my French to be compared to that of the Haitian students.

Yes No Not sure

please explain:

8. I know _______ about Haiti.

a. very little b. a little c. a fair amount d. a great deal

If you answered c. or d, how did you learn about Haiti?

9. I would like to know more about Haiti.

   Yes No Not sure

III. General Questions:

1. Why do you think that the Haitian students are taking French at MSU?
2. Do you know what Creole is?

   Yes No

   Please explain what Creole is to the best of your knowledge, without asking anybody else or consulting any references. If you are not sure, that is fine. Please say so. Do not be afraid of giving a wrong answer.
3. Please comment on your experiences having Haitian classmates in your French classes. Please list all the positive aspects and what you consider to be the negative aspects as well. You can simply make a list, or you can write a paragraph. Any impressions that you might have would be appreciated.
4. Additional comments:

Appendix C

Survey for Native Speakers of French about Haitian Students

1. Commente sur le français des éudiants haitiens que tu as connus à Montclair State (ou ailleurs). Est-ce que ce sont des "native speakers" de français?

   Comment on the French spoken by the Haitian students you have known at Montclair State (or elsewhere). Are they "native speakers" of French?
2. Est-ce que tu modifies ton français quand tu parles aux Haitiens?

   Do you modify your French when you speak with Haitians?
3. Est-ce que tu dirais que le créole est du "mauvais français?" Explique.

   Would you say that Creole is "bad French"? Explain.

The Use of English

The Diglossic Foreign-Language Classroom: Learners' Views on L1 and L2 Functions

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Introduction

The term *multicompetence* was first coined by Vivian Cook in 1991. He later described it as "the total language knowledge of a person who knows more than one language, including both first language (L1) competence and second language (L2) interlanguage" (1999, p.190). The term *competence* here does not imply complete knowledge of or full proficiency in a given language. In this sense, we can consider all foreign language learners multicompetent. Language professionals have debated the ideal manner in which this multicompetence should manifest itself. Although learners are usually not full-fledged bilinguals, they do have two languages at their disposal, at least in some contexts, for different purposes, and to varying degrees of sophistication. The stage is set for diglossic language use.

The term *diglossia* was first coined by Ferguson (1959) to denote the use of "two or more varieties of the same language [...] by some speakers under different conditions" (p. 325). The language varieties referred to in this definition are the standard language, also described as the "high variety," or "H", and regional dialects, called "low varieties", or "L" (p. 327). Ferguson went on to elaborate that "one of the most important features of diglossia is the specialization of function for H and L" (p. 328) and that "the importance of using the right variety in the right situation can hardly be overestimated" (p. 329). Fishman (1967) juxtaposed bilingualism (or multicompetence) with diglossia, in the context of speech communities. Specifically, he refered to bilingualism as "essentially a characterization of individual linguistic behavior" and to diglossia as a "characterization of linguistic organization at the socio-cultural level" (p. 34).

Research has repeatedly shown that the first and the second (or foreign) language serve distinctly different functions in a language classroom, i.e., that classrooms are not only bilingual and mutlicompetent but also diglossic communities (Blyth 1995). However, the profession has yet to reach a consensus on whether diglossia is a boon or a bane to L2 learning, or whether it is simply a fact to be accepted. Most experienced language teachers could describe functions for which they or their students prefer either the first or the second language. In this paper, I will approach the question of diglossic language use from the students' perspective. Learners' beliefs are central in communicative, learner-centered approaches which continually require learners to decide which behaviors to engage in and how to engage in them. Personal views also determine how students perceive, interpret, and react to their teachers' actions. Specifically, I start from the assumption that learners associate certain language functions with either the L1 or the L2.

A diglossic view of classroom interaction presupposes that students and teachers follow describable criteria in selecting the L1 or L2, although these rules may never have been verbalized, much less, discussed or agreed upon. In short, the concurrent use of two languages does not imply that speakers randomly violate boundaries between two linguistic systems. Distinct motivations drive language choice. Although some choices may have to do with the differential in proficiency between the L1 and the L2, not all do. Linguistic constraints operate alongside social ones. Legenhausen (1991), Poulisse and Bongaerts (1994), and Williams and Hammarberg (1998) provide examples of how the L1 can function in second or foreign language learning. Other studies of foreign language classroom discourse, such as Anton (1999), Swain and Lapkin (1998), and Platt and Brooks (1994), have not focused on a diglossic perspective but nevertheless have found it useful in the interpretation of their data.

In emphasizing the learners' role in creating their own learning environment, here in the framework of a speech community, I follow an approach which traces its roots to Gardner and Lambert (e.g., 1972) and Horwitz (1988), and which has since been pursued by a number of researchers (e.g.,Chavez 2000; Liskin-Gasparro 1998; Kern 1995; Ming 1993; Schulz 1996; Zephir and Chirol 1993). Self-reported data have been challenged with regard to their accuracy and objectivity, charges which cannot be refuted out of hand.[1] Nevertheless, such data reveal unique insights, too. Only the learners themselves can allow us to glimpse their attitudes, judgments, and perceptions. The relationship between students' beliefs and their actions reveals which behaviors students themselves may wish to modify, which objectives they pursue and thus, whether teachers could guide them toward more suitable alternatives. Moreover, reliance on self-reports allows researchers to include many more participants than possible through an observational approach. As a consequence, such data permit large-scale patterns to emerge. In sum, a questionnaire-type approach does not supplant but complements and guides observational studies.

This study is not intended to prescribe whether and when to permit the L1 in the classroom. Answers to that question will have to vary according to the parameters and objectives of individual programs. There is little to be gained from general pronouncements. Rather, I wish to share with the reader the responses of the students in one particular program. Specifically, I asked learners about their views on the following issues, here rendered in the form of summative research questions:

1. Do students at three different levels of language study desire different degrees of L1 as compared to L2 use, by students and teachers, respectively?
2. How does desired language use relate to observed language use for students and teachers, respectively?
3. Are gaps between desired and observed language use significant?
4. For which tasks do students express a particularly strong preference for the L1?
5. For which learning tasks do students express a particularly strong preference for the L2?
6. How do learners at the three different levels of study vary in their language preferences for specific tasks?
7. Which common functions can be determined for those tasks for which learners express the same language preference, at each of the three different levels of language study, respectively?

I will first review pertinent literature, with a special emphasis on the functionalities of L1 and L2 use. Then, I will analyze the responses to a 158-item questionnaire of 330 learners of German, enrolled at three different levels. Finally, I will describe the limitations of this particular study and conclude with considerations for language program direction.

Research on Code-Switching and Diglossia in Foreign Language Learning

Research on code-switching, and more particularly, diglossia, in foreign language classrooms occupies a somewhat peculiar position by comparison to other topics, such as grammar or vocabulary learning. Many practitioners and researchers would wish that the L1 simply not occur at all in the foreign language classroom. In this view, L1 use makes not only for poor pedagogical practice but also for a questionable research focus. Much of the research which does exist, emphasizes ways to reduce L1 use and furthermore assumes heavy top-down interference in classroom management, such as in the form of "no-first-language policies" (e.g., Duff and Polio 1990; Polio and Duff 1994; Polio 1994). To all who consider the L1 anathema, a study such as this one does not make sense, for several reasons: (1) This study assumes that L1 indeed is being used in foreign language classrooms. (2) It alleges systematic L1 use rather than random occurrences of code-switching and hence sees the L1 as fulfilling certain linguistic as well as social functions. (3) It seeks to describe patterns rather than suggest means of altering them. (4) Its very insistence on description over prescription flows from a strong belief in the force of motivation, which at the same time calls into question the effectiveness of programmatic language use policies.

Blyth (1995) comprehensively reviews how code-switching in the foreign language classroom has been—unjustly—cast in a negative light. Auerbach (1993) provides a similar perspective from the vantage point of L2 teaching. Both researchers, along with others, such as Cook (1999, 2001) and Kramsch (1998), challenge the view of monolingualism as the foundation of a speech community. Indeed, Cook in a recent paper (2001) sums up the long history of stigmatizing L1 use in foreign language classrooms, when he observes that (p. 405) "Like nature, the L1 creeps back in, however many times you throw it out with a pitch fork." These are some recent works which signal a change in attitude. While the issue of L1 use is probably still far from being palatable to all, at least it is beginning to reach a broader audience.

One of the paradoxes of a strictly monolingual classroom is the idea that the goal of bilingualism is to be achieved via monolingualism. Cook (2001, p. 407) here distinguishes between two views of bilingualism: (1) coordinate bilingualism, in which the L1 is to be kept separate from the second and (2) compound bilingualism, in which the two languages are to form one single system. Cook concludes on the basis of prior research (pp. 407–410) that we process the L2 in accordance with the compound model. Consequently, it is futile to discuss whether language teaching methodology should approve or disprove of what we simply do. In that sense, a bilingual classroom, in which both the L1 and the L2 are used, accommodates inevitable natural inclinations. It also acknowledges the fundamental but often neglected difference between L1 and L2 learners i.e., that L2 learners already know another language

Although it is difficult to ascertain specific numbers, I would estimate that to date the majority of foreign language teachers believe, or at least profess, that the L1 is to be avoided. Researchers such as Duff and Polio (1990) support this view (p. 162-163). A strict no-first-language policy, however, raises a number of questions, such as the following:

(1) *How does one define "language"?* Is one to include mental speech or self-talk, such as referred to in the Vygotskyan tradition (e.g., Aljaafreh and Lantolf 1994; Lantolf and Appel 1994; McCafferty 1994; Anton and DiCamilla, 1998, 1999), for which at least beginning but perhaps even advanced learners (see Qi 1998) likely use their L1? Should one distinguish between written and oral language, as does Wells (1998, p.351) in his response to Anton and DiCamilla (1998)? Several studies show the benefits of planning written foreign language output in the L1 (e.g., Devine, Railey, and Boshoff 1993; Kobayashi and Rinnert 1994; Osburne 1986; Osburne and Harss-Covalski 1991; Qi 1998; Susser 1994). What about separating language reception from language production? Scholars here describe possible advantages of the L1 in the development of foreign language receptive skills (e.g., Bacon 1989; Bernhardt 1991; Kern 1994; Lee 1986; Swaffar 1988; Swaffar, Arens and Byrnes 1991)?[2]

(2) *Is a no-first-language policy effective in the face of learners' and teaching assistants' strong convictions, possibly contrary to the policy?* Most teaching assistants direct their own classes and hence ultimately decide whether and how to put into practice the program prescribed by their supervisors. Auerbach (1993, p. 14), Duff and Polio (1990), Zephir and Chirol (1993) show how difficult it is to alter, by mere edict, practices rooted in teachers' own convictions. Many of us are all too keenly aware of how many charades we come to observe every semester: Teaching assistants and students are apt to conspire in the reenactment of the "perfect," albeit rather atypical class meeting for the sake of a visitor. The reigns of policy can be slipped quite easily, so policy ought to coincide with belief if possible. Moreover, just as program supervisors struggle to convince teaching assistants of their own wisdom and that of departmental rules, the teaching assistants themselves face the same problem with their students.

With the advent of communicative, proficiency-oriented teaching, an approach which favors goals over specific methodological prescriptions, uncertainties have arisen, for both teachers and students.[3] Some teachers find themselves in a methodological vacuum (e.g., Sato and Kleinsasser 1999, pp. 501–505). Students, for the most part, remain unaware of the theoretical considerations which drive language teaching and, consequently, learners have trouble interpreting what they experience in the classroom. As Platt and Brooks (1994) demonstrate, students interpret the parameters of communicative tasks according to their own beliefs and objectives. One may claim that such uncertainties are exactly what makes rules necessary. I would argue that uncertainties should lead to discussion and careful consideration, based on specific parameters, of the most important beliefs of the participants.

(3) *What is the rationale underlying a no-first-language policy?* With this issue, we return to the core of the debate. Blyth (1995) argued against such a policy which contradicts the realities of the foreign language classroom as a diglossic speech community. In addition, one should carefully weigh the quantity and function of L1 and L2 use.

The Quantity of L1 Use

Researchers such as Charlene Polio and Patricia Duff (e.g., Polio 1994, pp.154–155) have vehemently urged practitioners to restrict the use of the L1, particularly in foreign language settings. They view the use of the L1 as diametrically opposed to that of the L2 and blame students' failure to transcend the intermediate level of proficiency to lack of L2 input (p. 313). Duff and Polio (1990) measured the use of the L2 by teachers of thirteen different foreign languages at the University of California at Los Angeles. They were dissatisfied with the overall relatively low rate of L2 produced by the teachers. Duff and Polio implored teachers not to resort to L1 use. Instead teachers were to adjust their L2 use to match the students' level of comprehension. In other words, Polio and Duff advocated input modification. But just as one may argue that it is better to forbid teachers (especially graduate students) the use of L1 altogether, for fear that they may get carried away, so one may see similar dangers in the use of modified input. Moreover, the assumption that very low levels of L1 use will lead to "better" L2 use needs to be questioned with regard to not only teachers but also learners. Platt and Brooks (1994) show at numerous examples how students deal with or rather unravel a supposedly input-rich environment. Without resorting to their L1, students still managed to evade meaningful second-language use. They interpreted tasks minimally, i.e., they neglected interaction in favor of a quick solution to a given problem; they used single words and parataxis instead of taking more complete turns; and they communicated extensively with non-verbal means. Legenhausen (1991, p. 70) describes a "principle of balance": Among (German) high school students of French, learners who used complex L1 utterances in what had been intended as L2 conversations were more likely to use equally complex L2. Conversely, learners who interspersed their conversations with short and simple L1 utterances relied on equally simple and short L2.

In summary, L1 and L2 use may not relate to each other in a simple equation. A sharp decrease in the use of the L1 may not lead to an increase in either the quantity or the quality of the L2. In the same vein, poor L2 use cannot be attributed solely to occurrences of the L1.

The Functions of L1

Even if one accepts that L1 does not necessarily deprive learners of appropriate amounts of L2 input and output, one still needs to examine other potential "intrusions" of the L1. Language fulfills certain functions, some of them particular to a classroom, such as giving instructions and feedback, or practicing the language itself. Hancock (1997), for examples, describes how language learners—sometimes subconsciously—distinguish between "pedagogical" functions and "real" functions. The former cover rehearsal functions, such as language practice. The latter serve a purpose which has observable and often immediate consequences, that is, they serve true communicative needs. For example, instructions, explanations, social conventions, or feedback regulate the students' behavior and contribute directly to students' success, e.g., good grades. One could expect that students are more willing to take linguistic risks, i.e., use the L2, with "pedagogical" functions. They may desire less ambiguity, i.e., more L1, for "real" functions. The L1 would thus "intrude" in as far is it becomes the vehicle of "real" communication, and thereby relegates the L2 to perpetual rehearsal status. Indeed, other research supports this prediction.

Self-Talk

Hancock (1997, pp. 238–229) shows that learners use the L1 when talking to themselves aloud. Piasecka (1986) describes how learners' personae are rooted in their L1, through which they also organize thought. Blyth (1995, pp. 152–153) acknowledges that the L1 cannot be banished from a learner's mind; Platt and Brooks (1994, p. 506) observed episodes of self-talk as a means of mediating or redirecting one's own activity. For Anton and DiCamilla (1998,1999), who adhere to a Vygotskian framework, self-talk ("private speech") occurs naturally in collaborative interaction among learners. Here, the L1 "emerges not only as a device to generate content and to reflect on the material produced but, more importantly, as a means to create a social and cognitive space in which learners are able to provide each other and themselves with help throughout the task." (1998, pp. 337–338). These themes of meta-talk, genuine interest in the message, and the social self recur in other studies.

Meta-Talk

Hancock (1997), Legenhausen (1991), and Platt and Brooks (1994), among others, document instances of learners who use the L1 when they define situations or talk about instructions, procedures, or negotiation of turns. These same researchers show meta-language talk about linguistic gaps, questions, needs, etc., to be executed in the L1 as well. Platt and Brooks (1994) observed that teachers frequently give directions in the L1. Many practitioners (e.g., Auerbach 1993) consider acceptable the use of the L1 to talk about the task and the linguistic system itself. For Anton and DiCamilla (1998,1999) the L1 is an important tool in scaffolding, i.e., in "semiotic interactions" (1998, p. 319) in which an "expert and a novice [are] engaged in a problem solving-task" (1998, p. 318). The L1 here becomes the voice of the expert. Lastly, Qi (1998, p. 429) finds that his subject was likely to use the L1 "to initiate a thinking episode" in composing tasks with "high-level knowledge demands" (p. 428).

The "Real Message"

For some learners, talk about the language, i.e., meta-talk, represents what they understand language learning to really be all about. Research indicates that learners generally use the L1 when they want to fulfill genuinely communicative rather than pedagogical or practice functions (e.g., Hancock 1997; Legenhausen 1991). As a consequence, variables such as familiarity with the interlocutor and the inspirational force of the topic (Hancock 1997, p. 232), "breaking frame" (i.e., stepping outside one's persona prescribed by a part in a role play; Hancock 1997, p. 229), or the strong desire to solve an intellectually challenging task (Platt and Brooks 1994, p. 504) can compel learners to use the L1 just as much as can the need to resolve local linguistic shortcomings (e.g., Legenhausen 1991, p. 61).

The Social Self

Anton and DiCamilla (1998,1999) describe how the L1 not only fulfills an intra-psychological, cognitive function but also an "intersubjective", social one (e.g., 1998, p. 327). Hancock (1997, p. 229) describes how the L1 is chosen for jokes or other attempts at relating to an interlocutor socially. Platt and Brooks (1994) document how foreign language teachers, whose L1 is not English, sometimes deliberately use faulty English to establish an empathic connection with their students. Blyth (1995, pp. 152-153) and Collingham (1988) propose that the use of L1 reduces learners' anxiety and validates them as complete, articulate persons.

Other researchers argue from a broader, cultural context, i.e., how language learners must reconcile competing and sometimes conflicting personae and world views, respectively aligned with the L1 and the L2. Lin (1999), in her study of four classes of Cantonese speakers learning English in Hong Kong, concludes that (p. 410) "what matters is not whether a teacher uses the L1 or the L2 but rather how a teacher uses either language to connect with students and helps them transform their attitudes, dispositions, skills, and self-image—their habitus or social world." The role of the L1 in preserving one's identity in linguistically and culturally fluid situations is further discussed by Canagarajah (1999a and b). Similarly, Brown (1993, p. 513) speaks of a "(second) language ego" whose presence "can easily create within the learner a sense of fragility, defensiveness, and a raising of inhibitions."

Classroom Management and Grammar

The teacher's goals nonewithstanding, for many students, the syllabus, grammar instruction and, ultimately, grades, represent the essence of the foreign language learning experience. In these contexts, Brucker (1992), Collingham (1988), and Piasecka (1986) recommend the use of the L1. Not surprisingly, researchers have paid close attention to the use of the L1 in grammar teaching.

Polio and Duff (1994, p. 322) report the following motivations for teachers to use the L1: a lack of cognates for grammar terms in English[4]; a great distance between the L1 and the L2; the desire to cover material more quickly; and the difficulty of making the transition between textbook grammar explanations in the L1 and corresponding classroom work in the L2. So as to avoid the use of the L1, Duff and Polio (1990, pp. 162–163) recommend, among other solutions, for teachers to provide in the L1 supplementary materials on grammar; to explicitly teach and then use grammatical terms in the L2; and to establish brief periods in which students can use the L1 for clarification purposes. These recommendations, however, may leave teachers burdened with the task of guiding their students from L1, skill-getting grammar instruction to L2, skill-using activities.

Up to now we have examined L1 use according to communicative objectives. However, additional distinctions are necessary. Blyth

(1995, pp. 155–157) describes three different basic patterns of L1/ L2 distribution in bilingual education: (1) submersion/immersion; (2) separation (a diglossic approach); and (3) concurrent usage (random flip-flopping; concurrent translation; and preview/review techniques). Clearly, a functional distribution is relevant only for the second, the diglossic, approach. Moreover, an examination of functional language use also needs to consider the role of locality and setting, speaker, and speaker groupings.

Locality

Earlier we noted that the more learners distance themselves from the didactic goal, the more likely they are to use the L1. Similarly, practitioners often notice that the more directly a setting relates to instructional purposes and the more closely it reflects the social structure of academia, the greater the perceived appropriateness of the L2. For example, few challenge the idea that the unmarked means of communication in the foreign language classroom is the L2. Nevertheless, for many, the ringing bell and subsequent exit from the classroom signal an incentive to increase the use of the L1 or to abandon the L2 altogether. In this regard, the classroom is perceived differently from the teacher's office or from the rest of campus or from any other locality.

Speaker and Speaker Groupings

Polio and Duff (1994, p. 321) observe an "interactive effect" for the speaker role, in which a student begins speaking in the L1 and the teacher responds or continues alike[5]. The underlying premise, also mentioned by Zephir and Chirol (1993), is that it is permissible for students but not teachers to initiate a switch into the L1. Duff and Polio (1990, p. 162) very specifically include among their recommendations that students be permitted to speak English when necessary. Generally, and probably because of hypotheses regarding role-modeling, linguistic need, and anxiety, students enjoy greater freedom in choosing the language of communication than do teachers. Speaker groupings constitute another variable. Whether a teacher addresses the whole class or an individual student (e.g., during peer work) will influence whether she or he uses the L1 or the L2. Similarly, whether a student speaks with another in the open forum or in a pair activity will also correspond to different linguistic behaviors.

In summary, distributional patterns of L1 and L2 can be described according to certain language functions, encompassing, among others, the following: communicative objective, locality, speaker, and speaker groupings.

Method

The study was conducted at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in the sixth and seventh weeks of classes of a fall semester so that students had had plenty of opportunity to assess typical language use in their respective courses. The 158 questionnaire items reflected constellations of variables which earlier research had proposed to influence language choice (see Appendix A)[6]. These variables included discourse objectives, media, speakers, interlocutors, and localities. The items comprised four clusters: (1) student language use as observed by the students (36 items); (2) student language use as desired by the students (36 items); (3) teacher language use as observed by the students (43 items); and (4) teacher language use as desired by the students (43 items). Item clusters relating to student and teacher language use contained similar but not identical item sets because students and teachers are not expected to perform exactly the same functions. Nevertheless, mirror image formulations were preserved as much as reasonable, for purposes of later cross-comparisons.[7] Reliability (Cronbach) coefficients were computed for the questionnaire in its entirety and for each cluster separately. All reliability coefficients exceeded 0.9. The questionnaire offered a 5-point Likert scale response system, with the following distinctions: 1 = the L1 is the most appropriate/commonly used language; 2 = the L1 is more appropriate/commonly used than the L2; 3 (the neutral score) = the L1 and L2 are equally appropriate/commonly used; 4 = the L2 is more appropriate/commonly used than the L1; 5 = the L2 is the most appropriate/commonly used language. In sum, responses on the lower end of the scale implied a preference for the L1, responses on the higher end a preference for the L2[8]. These formulations did not solicit students' agreement or disagreement with different propositions but instead asked them to choose from diametrically opposed positions or a neutral answer.[9]

Each instructor received a complete package of materials for each of their students: questionnaires, scantron sheets, and a letter which described the objective of this study and explained that responses would be strictly anonymous and in no way affect the students' grades or the evaluation the teaching assistant would receive from the department.[10] In accordance with the requirements of the university's humans subjects review committee, teachers were free to choose whether their classes would participate in the study. If they chose to do so, they were encouraged to offer their students incentives (e.g., extra credit) for their participation. Instructors had a choice of administering the questionnaire during a 50-minute class period, or alternatively, sending it home with students. It was stressed that a sufficient amount of time was necessary to ensure well-considered responses. Participating instructors anonymously placed the completed materials in the researcher's mail-box. As an effect of this procedure, it is unclear exactly how many and which of the department's teaching assistants took part with their classes. [11] Each student subject received a copy of the questionnaire and a computer-readable answer ("scantron") sheet into which to enter responses. All but a few respondents were native speakers of English. Of a total of 330 respondents, 104 were enrolled in the first year; 122 in the second; and 104 in the third.[12] This number constitutes a response rate of approximately 65% for each year of study.

The department under investigation follows a communicative four-skills curriculum spanning the entire program. Three different faculty members supervise teaching assistants at each of the following levels, respectively: first and second semester; third and fourth semester; and fifth semester.[13] Teaching assistants receive extensive training at each new course level. The department has a non-specific policy with regard to the use of the L1, i.e., a little-known document sets forth that "no inappropriate uses" are to occur, although there is no specification of what exactly this means. Generally, teaching assistants believe that they are expected to use increasingly less of the L1 as they teach at higher levels. A seminar study conducted by a graduate and undergraduate student research team showed that teaching assistants indeed use progressively less L1, at least when observed by peers. [14] To judge from personal observations, classes vary in the relative occurrence of the L1 not only by level but also by instructor and particular student group. Informal interviews with teaching assistants showed that some delineate L1 use quite explicitly to their students and for themselves, e.g. , through time-outs, special signals, or an agreement spelled out at the beginning of the semester that the L1 may be used for certain tasks. Other teaching assistants either said that they hardly use the L1 at all or that they are unaware of the functions that L1 plays in their classrooms. It is generally true, however, that—at least in the presence of visitors—the L1 is used quite sparingly.

Analyses and Results

The university's Center for Testing and Evaluation provided equipment and personnel for data analysis. Responses were treated and analyzed separately for each year of study (1, 2, 3) since differing proficiency levels may affect views on the appropriateness of L1. For the sake of clarity and brevity, analyses and results will be presented together for all three levels for each of seven research questions. The level of statistical significance for all tests was set at $p < .05$. A summative discussion of results, organized by research question, follows.

Question 1: *Do students at three different levels of language study desire different degrees of L1 as compared to L2 use, by students and teachers, respectively?* Cluster means were computed for each of the twelve clusters (2 [observed and desired] x 2 [teacher and students] x 3 [years 1, 2, 3]). A "cluster mean" corresponds with the sum total of the means of all items belonging to a cluster.[15] Table 1 shows the results of one-way analyses of variance, in which the three populations (year 1, year 2, year 3) were compared. Significant differences were found in each of these four categories: the language use **desired** for students and teachers, respectively (categories 1 & 2), and the language use **observed** for students and teachers, respectively (categories 3 & 4). As seen later in Tables 3a and 3b, there was a steady trend toward a preference for the L2 as students progressed in their language learning.[16]

Question 2: *How does desired language use relate to observed language use for students and teachers, respectively?* Scores of items clusters reporting on desired language use were correlated with scores of their matching counterparts on observed language use. Teacher and student language use were treated separately. Responses were analyzed in four ways: broken down by each year of study (1, 2, 3) and then taking all three years together. Table 2 shows the results. All correlations were significant but not very strong, although the correlation coefficients between desired and observed language use for both students and teachers gradually strengthened with an increase in year of study. These results leave open why exactly the strength of correlations between desired and observed language use grew from year to year. Is it because students became more proficient so that both teachers and students began to come close to desired levels of L2 use? Or did students (and perhaps, teachers, too) become more realistic in their expectations? Or both? We also note that students' desired and observed language use correlated more strongly (in the students' minds) than did teachers', a point which is further pursued in Question 3.

Question 3: *Are gaps between desired and observed language use for students and teachers, respectively, significant?*[17] Table 3a shows the results of two-tailed, two-sample t-tests which compared cluster means of desired with that of observed language behavior, broken down by year of study. With one exception, significant differences between desired and observed language use were found for both, teachers and

Table 1
Differences Among Mean Sums Across Three Populations
(Year 1, Year 2, Year 3) [One-Way ANOVA]

Year 1 vs. 2 vs. 3	**Desired Teacher Language Use [Items 1–36]**	**Desired Student Language Use [Items 37–79]**	**Observed Teacher Language Use Items 80–115]**	**Observed Teacher Language Use [Items 116–158]**
F	55.94	54.37	55.09	58.51
df				
Between Groups	2	2	2	2
Within Groups	327	327	327	327
significance	.0001	.0001	.0001	.0001

Table 2
Correlations Between Desired and Observed Language Use

Correlations	**Year 1**		**Year 2**		**Year 3**		**All**	
	Coeff.	**p <**	**Coeff.**	**p <**	**Coeff.**	**p <**	**Coeff.**	**p <**
For Teachers [Items 1-36/80-115]	.243	.05	.309	.01	.377	.01	.466	.01
For Students [Items 37-79/116-158]	.325	.01	.549	.01	.553	.01	.607	.01

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students in the three populations. The direction of the gap, however, was different: Teachers were consistently found to tend toward the L2 more strongly than their students desired. Students, by comparison, reported that they used the L1 more than they themselves wanted to. Moreover, cluster means for desired and observed language use of both teachers and students increased gradually, i.e., tended more strongly toward the L2, with each year of study. The gap between cluster means of desired and observed teacher language use at 13.51 (or, on average, .375 per item) was largest for **second** year, as compared to 5.91 (.164 per item) for year 3 and 4.23 (.118 per item) for year 1. Indeed the one comparison which yielded no significant difference concerned the desired versus observed language use of teachers in first year. The same comparison for year 3 did show a significant difference although the degree of statistical significance was substantially lower than for the remainder of comparisons. An explanation for these results may be found in the curriculum: Whereas in year 1 much of language instruction centers around everyday situations, in year 2 (and then, 3) the focus switches to more intense work with authentic texts, often on abstract topics. Accordingly, teachers begin using language which is broader and less predictable in form and context. Thus, the results pertaining to second year likely reflect transitional difficulties.[18]

The gap between cluster means for desired as compared to observed language use was larger for students than for teachers in each year of study. It was larger for year 1 students at 30.64 (or .713 per item) than for year 2 students at 17.58 (or .409 per item) or than year 3 students at 20.04 (or .466 per item). It would have been misleading to calculate whether differences in the sum of means between teacher and student language use were significant because student and teacher clusters contained a different number and also slightly different types of items.

In an additional step, I explored the following hypothesis: *All subjects will find the L1 and the L2 equally appropriate for all items in a cluster.*

In this assumption, each item would be assigned the neutral score, i.e., 3, by all respondents and hence show a mean of 3 for each item. The sum of null-hypothetical cluster means were computed by multiplying the number of items in each cluster by 3. These null-hypothetical cluster mean sums were then compared with actual cluster mean sums, as shown in Table 3b. All but two comparisons showed the actual mean sum exceeding the null-hypothetical mean sum, i.e., an actual preference for the L2. The two exceptions were students' observed language use in first year (99.56 as compared to 129) and in second year (124.30 as compared to 129).

Table 3a

Comparisons Between Desired and Observed Language Use [Two-Tailed, Two-Sample t-Tests]

	Year 1 $n = 104$				Year 2 $n = 122$				Year 3 $n = 104$			
Comparisons	**Sum of Means**	*t*	*df*	*p* <	**Sum of Means**	*t*	*df*	*p* <	**Sum of Means**	*t*	*df*	*p* <
Desired Teacher Lang. Use [Items 1–36]	115.64				125.19				147.06			
Observed Teacher Lang. Use [Items 80–115]	119.87	-1.29	206	n.s.	138.71	-4.48	242	.0001	152.97	-2.17	206	.05
Desired Student Lang. Use [Items 37–79]	130.20				141.96				169.40			
Observed Student Lang. Use [Items 116–158]	99.56	7.48	206	.0001	124.38	4.25	242	.0001	149.36	4.86	206	.0001

Table 3b
Comparisons Between Actual and Hypothetical Sums of Means

		Year 1 *n* = 104			Year 2 *n* = 122			Year 3 *n* = 104	
Comparisons	**Actual SoMs**	**Hypo-thetical SoMs**	**SD**	**Actual SoMS**	**Hypo-thetical SoMs**	**SD**	**Actual SoMs**	**Hypo-thetical SoMs**	**SD**
Desired Teacher Lang. Use [Items 1-36]	115.64	108	22.32	125.19	108	23.62	147.06	108	19.63
Observed Teacher Lang. Use [Items 80-115]	119.87	108	24.79	138.71	108	23.55	152.97	108	19.69
Desired Student Lang. Use [Items 37-79]	130.20	129	28.78	141.96	129	27.82	169.40	129	27.09
Observed Student Lang. Use [Items 116-158]	99.56	129	30.29	124.38	129	36.22	149.36	129	32.24

Question 4: ***For which tasks do students express a particularly strong preference for the L2, i.e.,which item have extremely high means?*** Items in each cluster were ranked, again separately by year of study. Extremely high scores were selected based on natural breaks. Rank numbers progress from top-down, i.e., rank 1 signifies the highest ranking item. Table 4 shows students' reports on the desired and observed language use of students as well as of teachers in the form of single item means. Items in boldface are those which hold extreme ranks in both desired and observed language use, i.e., identify a correspondence between parallel items listed under two separate headings.

With regard to teacher language use, a preference for the L2 (i.e., items with high means) concerned practice, review, and routines—in short, predictable and bounded language—and were shared between the desired and observed language use categories. However, in reference to desired but not to observed language use, a preference for the L2 emerged for socially-oriented language. Overall, the types of items which were associated with a preference for L2 use by the teacher were remarkably consistent across the three years of study. When examining the preference for L2 use by students, similar patterns emerged: Students' observed and desired language use in all three years centered around routines and limited, practice and review-type language use. Year 3 showed an expanded repertoire: Students reported using and desiring the L2 for more creative and unrestricted purposes, i.e., peer interaction and work with reading texts. In general, a preference for the L2 was present from year 1 but increased in scope and strength over the program sequence. By year 3, with the exception of observed student language use, item means lay well above 4.5.

Question 5: ***For which tasks do students express a particularly strong preference for the L1, i.e., which items have extremely low means?*** Again, items in each cluster were ranked, broken down by year of study. Extremely low scores were selected based on natural breaks. Table 5, mirror images of Table 4 in format, show students' responses. However, different from Tables 4a and 4b, rank numbers here are counted from the bottom up, i.e., rank 1 indicates the lowest ranking item. Again, items in boldface are those which hold extreme ranks in both desired **and** observed language use, i.e., identify a correspondence between parallel items listed under two separate headings.

Table 4
Items Tending toward the Second Language
(Extremely High Item Means)

	Year 1 ***n*** **= 104** **Rank (mean)**	**Year 2** ***n*** **= 122** **Rank (mean)**	**Year 3** ***n*** **= 104** **Rank (mean)**
Students on Teacher Language Use			
Desired Language Use [Items 1–36]			
12. conducting grammar practice	**4 (4.02)**	**5 (4.07)**	NA
14. reviewing vocabulary	**2 (4.36)**	**2 (4.32)**	3 (4.69)
15. conducting vocabulary practice	**3 (4.24)**	**3 (4.24)**	4 (4.67)
16. making small talk with the class	5 (3.85)	4 (4.08)	5 (4.59)
22. talking to students as they do group or pair work	NA	NA	1 (4.87)
31. performing routines (greeting students, etc.)	**1 (4.41)**	**1 (4.46)**	**1 (4.87)**
Observed Language Use [Items 80–115]			
90. reviewing grammar	NA	3 (4.43)	2 (4.80)
91. conducting grammar practice	**4 (4.13)**	**5 (4.426)**	NA
93. reviewing vocabulary	**2 (4.27)**	**2 (4.48)**	NA
94. conducting vocabulary practice	**3 (4.22)**	**3 (4.43)**	NA
110. performing routines (greeting students, etc.)	**1 (4.42)**	**1 (4.63)**	**1 (4.90)**
Students on Student Language Use			
Desired Language Use [Items 37–79]			
39. when the class practices grammar	**3 (3.88)**	**3 (4.05)**	**3 (4.54)**
40. practicing grammar in peer work	5 (3.86)	5 (3.92)	NA
43. when the class practices vocabulary	**1 (4.01)**	2 (4.10)	2 (4.60)
44. practicing vocabulary in peer work	**4 (3.87)**	NA	3 (4.54)
60. in role play with each other	NA	4 (4.03)	3 (4.54)
76. performing routines, such as greeting the teacher, etc.	**2 (3.93)**	**1 (4.20)**	**1 (4.63)**
Observed Language Use [Items 116–158]			
118. when the class practices grammar	**2 (3.57)**	**2 (3.94)**	**5 (4.41)**
122. when the class practices vocabulary	**1 (3.78)**	1 (3.99)	2 (4.51)
123. when they practice vocabulary in peer work	**4 (3.31)**	NA	NA

Table 4 *(continued)*

	Year 1 *n* = 104 Rank (mean)	Year 2 *n* = 122 Rank (mean)	Year 3 *n* = 104 Rank (mean)
142. when the teacher checks how well students comprehended a reading	NA	NA	3 (4.46)
144. when the class discusses issues raised in a reading	NA	NA	1 (4.53)
155. when performing routines, such as greeting the teacher	**3 (3.37)**	**3 (3.80)**	**4 (4.43)**

Table 5
Items Tending toward the First Language (Extremely Low Item Means)

	Year 1 *n* = 104 Rank (mean)	Year 2 *n* = 122 Rank (mean)	Year 3 *n* = 104 Rank (mean)
Students on Teacher Language Use			
Desired Language Use [Items 1–36]			
3. explaining about an upcoming test	2 (2.32)	4 (2.60)	NA
4. explaining a test students are just taking	3 (2.40)	5 (2.77)	NA
6. explaining the syllabus at the beginning of the course	**1 (1.85)**	**1 (2.27)**	NA
10. talking about a new grammar point	4 (2.45)	NA	NA
35. in office hours	**6 (2.68)**	**3 (2.58)**	**1 (2.73)**
36. when s/he runs into students outside of class	**5 (2.57)**	**2 (2.48)**	**2 (2.97)**
Observed Language Use [Items 80–115]			
85. explaining the syllabus at the beginning of the course	**3 (2.13)**	**3 (2.78)**	NA
114. in office hours	**2 (1.86)**	**1 (1.99)**	**1 (1.71)**
115. when s/he runs into students outside of class	**1 (1.75)**	**2 (2.17)**	**2 (1.85)**

(continued)

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Table 5 *(continued)*

	Year 1 $n = 104$ Rank (mean)	Year 2 $n = 122$ Rank (mean)	Year 3 $n = 104$ Rank (mean)
Students on Student Language Use			
Desired Language Use [Items 37–79]			
37. asking the teacher questions about a new grammar point	4 (2.53)	NA	NA
49. asking the teacher about instructions on a test	1 (2.24)	5 (2.66)	NA
50. asking the teacher about the syllabus or course	2 (2.25)	4 (2.65)	NA
67. discussing with the teacher (in class) how the course is going for them	5 (2.54)	NA	NA
77. in office hours	**6 (2.56)**	**3 (2.63)**	**2 (2.80)**
78. when running into the teacher outside of class	**7 (2.63)**	**2 (2.60)**	**3 (2.87)**
79. when running into each other outside of class	**3 (2.30)**	**1 (2.12)**	**1 (2.20)**
Observed Language Use [Items 116–158]			
151. when giving **written** feedback on others' **written** work	5 (1.52)	NA	NA
153. when giving **written** feedback on others' **speaking**	4 (1.47)	NA	NA
154. when giving **oral** feedback on others' **speaking**	6 (1.60)	NA	NA
156. in office hours	**1 (1.22)**	**1 (1.47)**	**1 (1.42)**
157. when running into the teacher outside of class	**2 (1.28)**	**3 (1.61)**	**3 (1.56)**
158. when running into each other outside of class	**3 (1.33)**	**1 (1.47)**	**2 (1.48)**

As for desired teacher language use, students in years 1 and 2 both preferred the L1 when it came to explaining graded outcomes and meetings outside of class. Year 1 students also preferred the L1 for the introduction of a grammar point. Year 3 students had restricted their first-language preferences to non-classroom based interactions. Looking at observed language use, teachers seemed to accommodate these expectations in years 1 and 2. In these years, teachers were said to explain the syllabus in the L1, teachers at all three levels to use the L1 outside of class. With regard to desired student language use, the preference for the L1 outside of class persisted through all three years. In addition, students in years 1 and 2 would have liked to ask questions and discuss the course in their L1. This trend emerged in more items among year 1 than year 2 students. Year 1 students further named peer feedback as an activity in which they would like to use the L1.

Question 6 ***How do learners at three different levels of language study vary in their language preferences for specific tasks?*** This question was to ascertain which functions or tasks showed an association between (assumed) language proficiency and language preference. Chi-square tests[19] were applied in the comparison of responses across the three populations for each item individually. To render the data more meaningful, the marginal scores on either side of the neutral score (i.e., 3) were collapsed so that scores of 1 and 2 were counted together as were scores of 4 and 5. The neutral score (3) was preserved.

As Table 6 shows, only six out of 158 items failed to show significant distinctions among years 1, 2, and 3. All but one of these items

Table 6
Items Which Did NOT Show Significant Differences ($p > .05$) Across the 3 Populations and Percentage of Subjects in Certain Response Categories

Item		**Year 1** $n = 104$ **(in %)**	**Year 2** $n = 122$ **(in %)**	**Year 3** $n = 104$ **(in%)**
12 The teacher should use [...] when conducting grammar practice.	*proL2*	79.80	77.87	90.38
35 The teacher should use [...] in office hours.	*pro L2*	16.50	13.93	19.23
	neutral	40.78	41.80	33.60
77 Students should use [...] when visiting the teacher's office hours.	*pro L1*	43.68	40.49	34.62
	pro L2	13.59	12.39	24.04
79 Students should use [...] when running into each other outside of class.	*proL1*	56.31	59.84	61.54
115 The teacher typically uses [...] when s/he runs into students outside of class.	*pro L1*	43.48	34.88	37.09
	omitted	33.65	29.51	40.38
158 I (a student) typically use [...] when I run into other students outside of class.	*pro L1*	88.04	82.30	84.54

(the teacher conducting grammar practice) revealed a distinct preference for the L1. These were the same five items which described contact between the teacher and students or among students outside the classroom. For each item, the most pertinent distributions among scores are reported. The label "pro L2" refers to learners who assigned scores of 4 and 5; the label "pro L1" to learners who gave scores of 1 and 2; and the label "neutral" to learners who preferred neither the L1 nor the L2.

Question 7: *Which common features (functions) can be determined for those tasks for which learners express the same language preference, at each of the three levels of language study, respectively?* This question sought to broaden the scope of the functional perspective from single items to item groups. Descriptions by functions were further connected with ranges of item means so as to explore an association between certain functions and a preference for either the L2 or the L1. To these ends, a principal component (factor) analysis using the varimax rotation method with Kaiser normalization was carried out for each of the three populations (year 1, 2, 3), further separated by the four item clusters (desired and observed teacher and student language use). The results of the factor analysis can be viewed in Appendix B. Items which reached a coefficient of .3 were considered to be loading significantly on a factor. However, in many item clusters, definite natural breaks occurred, i.e., a certain number of items correlated at levels much higher than .3 It was decided that in the interest of establishing clear patterns, such breaks should be given proper consideration.[20] Table 7 displays the factors, now labeled, for desired teacher, observed teacher, desired student, and observed student language use, respectively. The order in which the factors are listed reflects the order of item means for each. Since not all items assigned to a factor shared the exactly same mean score, it was decided that the low end of the item mean range would be used for comparison.[21] In the instance of two factors showing the same low item means, the order of listings was based on the upper range, i.e., factors whose upper range of item means was higher follow those whose upper range of item means was lower. The different shadings in the Tables reflect where the low ends of the item mean ranges fall: in the realm of the L1; in neutral territory; or in the realm of the L2.

Further, if similarly-labeled factors emerged in each of the four language use categories (clusters), their item means were compared. Based on these comparisons, one can assess how the same factor corresponds to different or similar language use preferences for teachers and students and for desired and observed language use. If two

Table 7

Factors by the Low-End of Their Item Mean Range

Low-End Mean	Desired Teacher Language Use	Observed Teacher Language Use	Desired Student Language Use	Observed Student Language Use
		Year 1		
1				
1.3				outside class
1.5				giving feedback
1.8		outside class	socializing	
2				asking about background & instructions asking about grammar & vocabulary text comprehension & discussion
2.1		explanation		
2.2			qu. re background & instructions	
2.3	organization			
2.5			grammar questions	
2.6	outside class	feedback	chance encounters	group & pair work
2.7			giving peer feedback requesting feedback & directions	
2.8	testing & new grammar			
2.9	feedback		socializing interaction	
3	background information	directions about tests		
3.2	comprehension & discussion			peer practice
3.3	socializing	comprehension		
3.4		hand outs socializing	check & discussion	
3.6				grammar practice
3.8	practice		practice	
4		practice & review		
		Year 2		
1				
1.5				outside class
2				
2.2		outside class		giving feedback
2.5		outside class		
2.6	evaluation		outside class	asking for directions & instructions

(*continued*)

Table 7, Year 2 (*continued*)

Low-End Mean	Desired Teacher Language Use	Observed Teacher Language Use	Desired Student Language Use	Observed Student Language Use
2.8			socializing with teacher in class	
2.9			giving feedback	
3			asking about language production asking about language structure	asking about background
3.1	check	feedback on speaking	socializing	
3.2	feedback			
		requesting back ground info		
3.3				peer practice text comprehension & discussion
3.4	comprehension & discussion		comprehension check	
3.6	practice			
3.7	socializing		practice	
3.8				
		explaining about A test; video & audio hand-outs		
3.9		socializing		
4		review & explanation		
		Year 3		
1				
1.7		outside class		outside class
2				
2.2				giving feedback
2.7	outside class		outside class	
2.8				peer interaction
3.2	explanation			
3.3	evaluation	video & audio feedback		video&audio
3.5				
3.6	practice		giving feedback grammar	peer practice
3.7			requesting feedback & directions	asking &socializing with the teacher
3.8			socializing	
3.9	feedback			
4				
4.1			comprehension check	grammar practice
4.2	comprehension check			
4.3	socializing			
4.4	discussion	grammar practice & vocabulary; grammar & testing	practice	
4.5		socializing		
4.7		managing peer work texts		

compared factors reflected a minimum difference of .5 in their low-end means, they will be referred to as **differentials**. In contrast, differences which do not exceed .2 will be considered **matches**.[22] Clearly, these findings are not conclusive but they do suggest interesting patterns. Most pertinently, they complement and support results of previous analyses.

General Observations

As a result of entering factor labels in a sequence determined by low-end means, Table 7 could potentially give the visual impression of a pronounced preference for the L1, i.e., with most entries in the upper half of the scale.[23] In fact, there is a gradual increase in the number of entries in the 3 and 4 (i.e., L2) range as learners progress from year 1 to year 2 to year 3. The category of low-end means of 4 and above, however, does not expand noticeably until year 3. One also notes that the factor labeled *outside class* (and its parallel entry *chance encounters outside class*) consistently hovers in low ranges, i.e., between 1.3 and 1.7. Moreover, fluctuations with regard to this label reflect no chronological order at all, i.e., do not correspond with the year of study. For example, in the category of *desired teacher language use*, the factor *outside class* corresponds with low-end means of 2.6 for year 1, 2.5 for year 2, and 2.7 for year 3. Factors relating to *practice* occupy the other, higher end of the scale, beginning with year 1 already. More specifically, items comprised under this label deal with form-focused practice, such as that pertaining to grammar and vocabulary. Clearly, in such a context, the use of the L2 is essential; even indispensable, but at the same time unlikely to be creative or spontaneous.

Tolerance of Asymmetric Interactions

Comparisons between low-end means of factors pertaining to desired student and desired teacher language use in the context of *socializing* yielded differentials of at least .5. Such differences imply that students may tolerate or even seek different standards of language use for themselves as compared to their teachers. To demonstrate, the preferences of year 1 students tended more strongly toward the L1 in their own *socializing* language (a low-end mean of 1.8) than in that of their teachers (low-end mean of 3.3). Similar differentials were found for year 2 and year 3 students, with low-end means of 3.1 and 3.8, respectively, for *socializing* by students as compared to 3.7 and 4.3, respectively, for *socializing* by teachers. This differential may indicate students' persistent willingness to place the conversational burden on teachers so that teachers, for example, ask questions in the L2 and students respond in the L1. Differentials between students and teachers were not only found for desired but also observed language use. Language use *outside class* (year 1; year 2)*; giving feedback* (year 1, year 2; year 3)*; checking comprehension and engaging in discussions* (year 1); and *the teacher giving directions about a test* as compared to *students asking about instructions* (year 1) all fell into this category. In all areas, teachers were observed to tend more strongly toward the L2 than were the students.

Dissatisfaction with Students' Language Use

Students across all three years reported using less L2 than desired, particularly in these contexts: *asking grammar questions* (year 1); *grammar* [*practice*] (year 3); *giving feedback* (years 2 and 3); and language use *outside class* (years 2 and 3)

Dissatisfaction with Teachers' Language Use

Whereas mismatches between students' desired and observed language use consistently resulted from using too little L2, a more ambivalent situation presents itself with regard to the teachers. Similarly to how students had assessed their own actions, they expressed a desire for their teachers to use the L2 outside the classroom to a greater extent than observed (year 1 and year 3). At the same time, a juxtaposition of desired language use for *discussing evaluative procedures* with how teachers were observed to actually *explain about a test* showed that year 2 and 3 students would have liked to hear more L1.

Satisfaction with Students' Language Use

Students in year 2 reported a good match between their desired and their observed language use in two areas: *comprehension check and related discussions* and *asking about background information*.

Satisfaction with Teachers' Language Use

Students appeared to feel comfortable with their teachers' observed language use in *socializing* (years 1, 2, 3); *checking comprehension and leading related discussions* (year 1); *practice* (year 1); and *giving feedback* (years 1 and 2).

Similarities between Language Use Desired for Students and Desired for Teachers

Similar expectations regarding L1 as compared to L2 use were held of teachers and students in the following contexts: *teachers giving feedback* and *students giving and receiving feedback* (years 1 and 2); *students requesting clarification* and *teachers doing organizational work* (year 1); *language outside class* (years 1, 2, 3); and *comprehension checks* (year 3).

Similarities between Language Use Observed for Students and Observed for Teachers

Students observed that they chose the L1 or the L2 in patterns similar to those of their teachers in the following contexts: *students asking* and *teachers explaining* (year 1); activities surrounding *video and audio tapes* (year 3); and *language outside class* (year 3).

Combined with earlier findings, students appeared to use the L2 **less** than they wanted to and observed their teachers to use the L2 **more** than desirable. Students also seemed to care little about symmetry between their interactional work and that of their teachers. They did not strive to mirror their teachers in conversational roles or choice of language. Indeed, students did not see the classroom as a social arena at all. For example, their response patterns allow for grouping *socializing* with repetitive activities, which helps explain why the reported language for these types of activities tends to be the L2, for both teachers and students from year 1 on. Students also seem to tell us that communication in the classroom is really about evaluation and "knowledge", which, in turn, means the structure of the language. And genuine communication, in the students' eyes, is best conducted in the L1. Overall, these findings will please few language teachers. Even fewer will be suprised. Despite an increase in observed L2 use with each level of enrollment, the profession and these students appear separated in their views of what the communicative classroom is all about.

Limitations

Apart from the inherent shortcomings of self-reported data, described earlier, other administrative issues may have affected the outcome. For example, individuals may have dedicated more or less time to the completion of the questionnaire. The environment (inside, outside class) in which the answers were given, too, may have exercised some influence. For example, in class, students may recall their own, their peers' and their teacher's usual behaviors more readily but then again, may not be able to spend as much time thinking about the questions. Moreover, it is difficult to ascertain how the number and scope of items allow for a comprehensive and adequately differentiated assessment of actually occurring behaviors. One may argue that the large number of items could have caused test fatigue. Formulations of the items and the scales can never be guaranteed to yield identical readings among subjects or between subjects and the researcher. Neither the items nor the scale could give proper consideration to qualitatively or quantitatively precise distinctions between L1 versus L2 use. The format precluded respondents from accounting for different boundaries at which switches take place, i.e., at the discourse, paragraph, sentence, or word levels. Cross-linguistic permeation or instances of code-mixing were also ignored. For example, students may substitute L1 words but embed them in a L2 matrix, i.e., through the use of L2 morphology. The extent of deliberateness with which L1 and L2 phonology overlap remains uncertain. Indeed, no type of language use beyond the strictly verbal has been addressed here. Distinctions between rote and creative language use can only be deduced from context and remain speculative. Contrasts between L1 and L2 scripts, formulaic language and general pragmatic concerns, have been ignored altogether. The respective roles of the L1 and L2 in mental speech or self-talk were not investigated, either.

Finally, as described earlier, this study draws on a specific sample of students. A number of special characteristics need to be considered when projecting these results onto potential outcomes for other populations:

1. The homogeneity of the population at hand was much greater than is typical of many other college campuses: Participants widely shared the same L1 (English). Nearly all were of traditional college age. Most were of European descent and had had their previous German class in high school, regardless of their current level of enrollment[23]. They were almost evenly distributed between males and females. Few of the participants will major in the L2.
2. The specific L1 (English) and L2 (German) may affect code-switching behavior, for at least three reasons: Professional organizations and training pertaining to individual foreign languages often create a language-specific teaching canon of sorts. As a result, certain tenets about good language pedagogy develop which distinguish the teaching of a given foreign language from that of another. Schulz et al. (2002) describe how the different foreign-language departments at the same institution (University of California-Berkeley) follow a variety of practices with regard to L1 use. Also, the linguistic relatedness between two languages as well as language contact and the frequency of mutual or unidirectional borrowings between two given languages in authentic situations influence the acceptability and hence the likelihood and nature of code switching in instructional settings. The structure of a given L2 may influence code-switching behavior as well. Poulisse and Bongaerts (1994), for example, found that content and function words are associated with different types of code switching when speakers of Dutch learn English.

3. Departmental characteristics deserve attention, especially the fact that the department under investigation has no explicit policy prohibiting the use of L1. This very circumstance made the study possible and influenced the results. Moreover, departmental faculty vary as to how and how often they supervise teachers, i.e., whether and how they make teachers follow concrete instructions about teaching and testing. The degree of independence teachers enjoy in setting their own policies probably corresponds to their professional status. The department described here is unique in that virtually all of its first- and second-year and many of its third-year courses are taught by teaching assistants.

It is not only difficult to generalize from particular student and teacher populations but these groups themselves can be divided into various subgroups. As discussed earlier, particularly in the absence of a departmental L1 policy, the characteristics of a speech community and its broader context become determining factors in the linguistic behavior of participants. Further analyses by sub-groups (e.g., teacher and student gender; native speaker status of the teacher; experience abroad, etc.) will no doubt provide a greater level of sophistication.

In sum, the results presented here refer to a specific sample—which itself is painted in rather broad brush strokes—and correspond to certain modes of administration and design. This study does not claim universality and cannot point to unambiguous conclusions.

Final Considerations

The students in this sample clearly viewed their speech community, the classroom, as diglossic. This functional divide generally apportioned the most pressing and genuine communicative purposes to the L1. Moreover, instances in which "real" communication was carried out in the L2 often involved asymmetric interactions, with the teacher and students playing distinctly different roles. It is unclear whether this functional split or the communicative asymmetry are dead ends or merely transitional stages before students advance to a more equitable and broader participation in the L2. Although participants in this study overall expressed a stronger preference for the L2 as the enrollment level increased, some core functions remained firmly associated with the L1. Sociolinguistic research (Barbour and Stevenson 1990, p. 218-261) tells us that societal bilingualism tends to be stable, i.e., not develop into monolingualism, as long as it is paired with diglossia. One concludes that as long as the L1 is associated with particular functions, it will persist in the L2 classroom.

How should language program policies respond to the projected inevitability of diglossia in the classroom? Should one simply ban the L1, that is, if one believes that such a policy can be enforced in fact (see the considerations described earlier in the paper)? Without a concomitant increase in L2 proficiency, the enforced exclusive use of the L1 will mean that certain language functions will have to be reduced in scope or eliminated altogether.

Perhaps it is time to ask which models we want to guide our curricular decisions. The currently preferred model, the (near-)exclusive reliance on the L2, hypothesizes a monolingual in-the-making. It deliberately disregards the stark differential between a learner's quite limited L2 capabilities and the learner's fully-developed L1. Yet, the standard bilingual, diglossic model does not fit well, either. Our classrooms are diglossic but our learners are not equally fluent in both languages. Usually only one member of the classroom speech community, the teacher, is a full-fledged bilingual. Since the teacher also holds the most powerful position in the class and commonly takes the most and the longest turns, asymmetric communication becomes all but inevitable.

The current model also draws inaccurate parallels between the L2 classroom and the target-language environment. On the one hand, it proclaims an inaccurate similarity between the two by downplaying the evaluative context and the obvious power differential between the interlocutors (students; teacher). On the other hand, the model promotes an inaccurate difference by dismissing the use of the class's lingua franca, the L1. Would not native speakers who know a visitor's L1 be considered rude if they insisted on the use of their native language in the face of severe communication problems? How can we expect our students to believe in a truly communicative classroom when communication takes a backseat to the strictures of language policy?

I am not suggesting that we should conduct our L2 classes in the L1 and simply hold a social hour. I do argue, however, that we are pretending when we tell our students that a monolingual environment filled with monolingual speakers is authentic, according to any real-life norms. Our students see through this pretense and behave accordingly. Many of us have witnessed students sacrifice the message for the sake of a particular medium. In many more cases, we will never know the gap between what a learner says or writes and what the learner really means. The L2 classroom represents a unique speech community in need of unique rules. If we want our students to associate the L2 with genuine communication, we need to incorporate it in equally genuine ways in our classrooms. And genuine inclusion will rely on norms which develop naturally, alongside those imposed by policies.

Notes

1. Low (1999) offers a detailed description of how wording and interpretation by respondents influence the outcome of questionnaire studies.
2. Beauvois (1998) further describes how electronic media have affected code-switching behaviors in foreign language communication.
3. See Whitley (1993) for an in-depth discussion on this issue.
4. For a more thorough discussion on the matter of second versus L1 use for teaching grammatical terminology see Borg (1999).
5. In the same study, Polio and Duff showed a lack of accommodating behavior on part of the teacher, i.e., they observed few instances in which teachers used English because their students did not comprehend. The researchers attributed this insight to teachers' possibly simplifying their language use so as to prevent non-comprehension.
6. It had been previously piloted with a group of fifth-semester students who then did not participate in the study itself. Minor modifications in wording were made as a result. The revised version was shown to all teachers who were invited to participate in the study. Based on the instructors' comments, the wording of some items was altered once more.
7. Items 40 and 57 and items 44 and 58 (pertaining to desired student language use) and items 119 and 136 and items 123 and137 (pertaining to observed student language use) are nearly identical to each other. They were used to cross-check whether students were paying attention during completion of the questionnaire, i.e., whether they assigned near-identical scores—which they did.
8. The exact wording for the students referred not to "L1" but English and German instead of "L2".
9. Please refer to Low (1996) for a discussion of potentially prejudicial questionnaire formulations.
10. All but one instructor (i.e.,in one of the third-year courses) were graduate student teaching assistants. The one instructor who was not a teaching assistant did not hold a tenure-track position.
11. There is, however, the possibility that teaching assistants who felt confident that their use of L1 versus L2 adhered to the department's policy (see later in the text) were more likely to participate. This could have resulted in students' reporting that their teachers use smaller amounts of L1 than may be typical of the whole group of instructors.
12. Some of the more striking demographics of participants include the following: 70.35% had had their last German class in high school (a reflection of the retro-credit policy described also in note #24); 78.05% had received a last course grade of A; 58.96% were female but an even greater

percentage, 81.8%, were taught by a female teacher; 22.71% of had a native speaker teacher; only 7.15% had chosen or intended to major in a language; 95.8% were 23 years of age or younger; and 52.2% had never been to a German-speaking country, with 13.74% of the total sample expressing no intention of ever visiting one.

13. The researcher supervises third and fourth semester courses.
14. Reifsnyder and Rocheford (2000)
15. The sum of means was given preference over a calculation of a "mean of means" because of the discontinuous nature of the data.
16. It must be emphasized that this was not a longitudinal study. For the sake of simplicity, as we discuss results we will refer to "students progressing through the language sequence". However, we really are looking at three distinct populations, each enrolled at a different level.
17. In future research, when comparing four groups of items (two for teachers; two for instructors) with different groups of items for the groups, all scores should be converted to standard scores in order to assure more accurate comparison.
18. See Harlow and Muyskens (1994) and Tschirner (1996) for further discussions of the specific challenges of second-year foreign-language instruction.
19. In order to attenuate Type I error rate resulting from multiple Chi Square tests, in future research a stricter criterion than .05 should be used.
20. In future research, items not meeting the .3 level should not be considered.
21. This method reflects the lowest common denominator within a factor. An alternative method would have been to compute item means within a group of items united by a factor. This approach was not used for the following reasons, all related to the fear of giving an undue impression of precision which such a calculation could not realistically achieve: (1) as mentioned, different factors reflect different degrees of correlations; this calls into questions whether the mean of means would be meaningful across factors; (2) the number of items subsumed under a given factor varied, from 2 to 13, so that the mean of means would have reflected different degrees of representativeness; and (3) it is probably most useful to know the learners' "bottom line", i.e., the lowest threshold at which they decide which language to use.
22. The selection of .5 and .2 as boundaries was motivated by natural breaks in the data.
23. Factor labels with identical names across the four item-cluster categories (desired and observed student language use; desired and observed teacher language use) do not necessarily denote the exact same set of items because the four clusters had been analyzed separately. For this reason, no statistical tests could be used to compare means assigned to factor labels across categories. Instead, given factor labels were compared based on natural breaks.

24. This university has a system of "retro-credits", whereby students receiving a letter grade of at least B in a foreign language class receive credit for all earlier courses in the sequence. This system helps students satisfy elective credit requirements without incurring additional time or money expenditures. As a result, third-year (as well as many second-year) courses are populated by students who have had instruction in a given foreign language in high school or at another university and now come to reap the benefits of their earlier work.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: The Questionnaire

Which language should the teacher use ... ?

1. when explaining what students should do at home
2. when going over homework which had been assigned for today
3. when explaining about an upcoming test
4. when explaining a test students are just taking
5. when reviewing a past test
6. when explaining the syllabus at the beginning of the course
7. when explaining background information before a reading assignment
8. when explaining background information before playing an audio or video tape
9. when explaining about the culture in general i.e. not directly related to an assignment
10. when talking about a new grammar point
11. when reviewing grammar that the class has already covered earlier
12. when conducting grammar practice
13. when introducing new vocabulary
14. when reviewing vocabulary which the class has already covered earlier
15. when conducting vocabulary practice
16. when making small talk with the class
17. when joking with the class
18. when making small talk with a particular student (in class)
19. when joking with a particular student (in class)
20. when asking students (in class) about how the course is going for them
21. when giving directions for group or pair work
22. when going around and talking to students as they do group or pair work

23. when checking students' comprehension of a reading assignment
24. when checking students' comprehension of an audio or video tape
25. when leading a discussion on issues raised in an audio or video tape
26. when leading a discussion on issues raised in a reading text
27. when giving **written** feedback on students' **written** work
28. when giving **oral** feedback on students' **written** work in speaking
29. when giving **written** feedback on students' **speaking performance**
30. when giving **oral** feedback on students' **speaking performance**
31. when performing routines such as greeting students saying which page to look at etc.
32. on grammar hand outs
33. on vocabulary hand outs
34. on hand outs for interaction (e.g. role-play discussion etc.)
35. in office hours
36. when s/he runs into students outside of class chance

Which language should the students use ... ?

37. when asking the teacher questions about a new grammar point
38. when asking the teacher questions in a grammar review
39. when the class practices grammar
40. when practicing grammar with other students in group or pair work
41. when asking the teacher questions about new vocabulary
42. when asking the teacher questions in a vocabulary review
43. when the class practices vocabulary
44. when practicing vocabulary with other students in group or pair work
45. when asking the teacher as s/he explains about the background for a reading text
46. when asking the teacher as s/he explains about the background for an audio or video tape
47. when asking the teacher about general cultural issues
48. when asking the teacher about instructions on a homework assignment
49. when asking the teacher about instructions on a test
50. when asking the teacher about the syllabus or course
51. when asking the teacher about instructions for group or pair work
52. when discussing instructions for group or pair work with other students
53. when asking the teacher about how to express something with good grammar
54. when asking the teacher about which word to use
55. when asking other students about how to express something with good grammar

56. when asking other students about which word to use
57. when they practice grammar in groups or pairs
58. when they practice vocabulary in groups or pairs
59. when they discuss issues in groups or pairs
60. when they engage in role play with each other
61. when they solve problems in groups or pairs
62. when they review each other's work
63. when the teacher checks how well they comprehended a reading
64. when the teacher checks how well they comprehended an audio or video tape
65. when the class discusses issues raised in a reading text
66. when the class discusses issues raised in an audio or video tape
67. when they discuss with the teacher (in class) how the course is going for them
68. when making small talk with the teacher (in class)
69. when making small talk with each other (in class)
70. when joking with the teacher (in class)
71. when joking with each other (in class)
72. when giving **written** feedback on other students' **written** work
73. when giving **oral** feedback on other students' **written** work in speaking
74. when giving **written** feedback on other students' **speaking performance**
75. when giving **oral** feedback other students' **speaking performance**
76. when performing routines, such as greeting the teacher & each other, asking which page the class is on, etc.
77. when visiting the teacher's office hours
78. when running into the teacher outside of class, by chance
79. when running into each other outside of class, by chance

Which language does the teacher use .... ?

80. when explaining what students should do at home
81. when going over homework which had been assigned for today
82. when explaining about an upcoming test
83. when explaining a test students are just taking
84. when reviewing a past test
87. when explaining background information before playing an audio or video tape
88. when explaining about the culture in general, i.e., not directly related to an assignment
89. when talking about a new grammar point
90. when reviewing grammar that we have already covered earlier

91. when conducting grammar practice
92. when introducing new vocabulary
93. when reviewing vocabulary which we have already covered earlier
94. when conducting vocabulary practice
95. when making small talk with the class
96. when joking with the class
97. when making small talk with a particular student (in class)
98. when joking with a particular student (in class)
99. when talking with students (in class) about how the course is going for them
100. when giving directions for group or pair work
101. when going around and talking to students as they do group or pair work
102. when checking students' comprehension of a reading assignment
103. when checking students' comprehension of an audio or video tape
104. when leading a discussion on issues raised in an audio or video tape
105. when leading a discussion on issues raised in a reading text
106. when giving **written** feedback on students' **written** work
107. when giving **oral** feedback on students' **written** work in speaking
108. when giving **written** feedback on students' **speaking performance**
109. when giving **oral** feedback on students' **speaking performance**
110. when performing routines, such as greeting students, saying which page to look at, etc.
111. on grammar hand outs
112. on vocabulary hand outs
113. on hand outs for interaction (e.g., role-play, discussion, etc.)
114. in office hours
115. when s/he runs into students outside of class, by chance

Which language do you (a student) use .... ?

116 when I ask the teacher questions about a new grammar point
117. when I ask the teacher questions in a grammar review
118. when the class practices grammar
119. when I practice grammar with other students in group or pair work
120. when I ask the teacher questions about new vocabulary
121. when I ask the questions in a vocabulary review
122. when the class practices vocabulary
123. when I practice vocabulary with other students in group or pair work
124. when I ask the teacher as s/he explains about the background for a reading text

125. when I ask the teacher as s/he explains about the background for an audio or video tape
126. when I ask the teacher about general cultural issues
127. when I ask the teacher about instructions on a homework assignment
128. when I ask the teacher about instructions on a test
129. when I ask the teacher about the syllabus or course
130. when I ask the teacher about instructions for group or pair work
131. when I discuss instructions for group or pair work with other students
132. when I ask the teacher about how to express something with good grammar
133. when I ask the teacher about which word to use
134. when I ask other students about how to express something with good grammar
135. when I ask other students about which word to use
136. when I practice grammar in groups or pairs
137. when I practice vocabulary in groups or pairs
138. when I discuss issues in groups or pairs
139. when I engage in role play with other students
140. when I solve problems in groups or pairs
141. when I review other students' work
142. when the teacher checks how well students comprehended a reading
143. when the teacher checks how well students comprehended an audio or video tape
144. when the class discusses issues raised in a reading text
145. when the class discusses issues raised in an audio or video tape
146. when the class discusses with teacher (in class) how the course is going
147. when I make small talk with the teacher (in class)
148. when I make small talk with other students (in class)
149. when I joke with the teacher (in class)
150. when I joke with other students (in class)
151. when I give **written** feedback on students' **written** work
152. when I give **oral** feedback on students' **written** work in speaking
153. when I give **written** feedback on students' **speaking performance**
154. when I give **oral** feedback on students' **speaking performance**
155. when I perform routines, such as greeting the teacher & other students, asking which page the class is on, etc.
156. when I visit the teacher's office hours
157. when I run into the teacher outside of class, by chance
158. when I run into other students outside of class

Appendix B: Results of Factor Analyses (Years 1, 2, 3) with Item Mean Ranges

Factor	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3
	Cluster 1 [items 1.-36.]: Desired Teacher Language Use		
1	practice (.7) [11, 12, 14, 15, 31] [means 3.8,4,4.4,4.2,4.4]]	practice (.7) [12, 13, 14, 15] [means 4.1,3.6,4.3,4.2]]	socializing (.8) [16,17,18,19] [means 4.3-4.6]
2	socializing in class (.8) [16,17, 18, 19] [means 3.3-3.8]	socializing (.8) [16,17,18,19] [means around 4]	evaluation (.7) [1,2,3,4] [means 3.3-4.2]
3	background information (.7) [7, 8] [means of 3.0]	feedback (.7) [27,28,29,30] [means 3.2-3.3]	feedback (.8) [27,28,29,30] [means 3.9-4.2]
4	feedback (.8) [27,28,29, 30] [means 2.9-3.0]	comprehen. & discuss. (.7) [23,24,25,26] [means 3.4-3.8]	practice (.6) [10,11,12,32,33,34] [means of 3.6-4.2]
5	comprehen. & discussion (.7) [23, 24, 25, 26] [means 3.2-3.3]	evaluation(.5) [1,2,3,4,5] [means 3,3.6,2.6,2.8,3.3]	comprehen. check (.7) [23,24] [means of 4.2]
6	testing & new grammar (.5) [4,5,10] [means of 2.8-3.1]	check (.3) [2,5,7,8,10,11,12,22,34] [means 3.6,3.3,3.3,3.4,3.1, 4,3.8,3.6]	discussion (.8) [25,26] [means of 4.4]
7	organization (.3) [1, 3, 5, 6, 20] [means of 2.3-3.1]	outside class (.8) [35,36] [means of 2.6 & 2.5]	outside class (.7) [35,36] [means of 2.7 & 2.9]
8	outside class (.6) [35, 36] means of 2.6 & 2.5]	—— ——	explanation (.3) [5,6,7,8,9,15] [means 3.9,3.2,3.9,4.1, 4.4.4.7]
9	---	—	
	Cluster 2 [items 37.-79]: Desired Language Use		
1	practice (.7) [39,40,43,44,57, 5876] [means 3.8-4.0]	practice (.7) [39,40,43,44,57,58,60] [means of 3.7-4]	requesting feedback/ direction (.6)[38,45,46,47, 48,49, 50,51,52,53,54,55,56] [means 3.7-4.1]
2	giving feedback (.7) [72,73,74,75] [means of 2.6-2.7]	giving feedback (.7) [72,73,74,75] [means of 2.9-3.0]	practice (.7) [39,40,43,44,57,58,59.60] [means 4.4-4.6]
3	interaction (.6) [63,64,65,66] [means of 3.0-3.2]	requesting backgrnd. (.6) [45,47] [means of 3.2]	giving feedback (.7) [72,73,74,75] [means of 3.6-3.7]

Appendix B, Cluster 2 (*continued*)

Factor	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3
4	socializing (.8) [68,69,70,71] [means of 2.9-3.2]	outside class (.7) [77,78,79] [means 2.6-3.1]	socializing (.6) [68,69,70,71,76] [means of 3.8-4.6]
5	requesting feedback/ direction (.6) [54,55,56] [means of 2.7-3.0]	comprehen. check (.8) [63,64] [means of 3.4]	outside class (.6) [77,78,79] [means 2.8,2.9,2.2]
6	chance encounters outside class (.7) [78,79] [means of 2.6]	socializing (.6) [68,69,70,71] [means of 3.1-3.5]	comprehen. check (.7) [63,64] [means of 4.1]
7	grammar questions (.7) [37,38] [means of 2.5 & 2.9]	asking about language structure (.5) [37,38, 41,42] [means 3,3.3,3.2,3.6]	grammar (.4) [37,38,39] [means of 3.6, 3.8, 4.5]
8	qu. re background & instructions (.5) [45,46,48,49 [means 2.9,2.9,2.6,2.2]	asking about language production (.4) [53,54,55,56] [means of 3.0-3.3]	

Cluster 3 [items 80-115]: *Observed Teacher Language Use*

1	practice& review (.7) [90-94] [means of 4.0-4.2]	review & explanation (.7) [80,81,90,91-94, 100, 101,105,106,110] [means 4.2,4.3,4.4,4.4,4.1, 4.5,4,4,4.3,4.1,4.3,4.2,4.6]	grammar & testing (.6) [81,82,83,89,90] [means of 4.4-4.8]
2	socializing (.8) [95, 96,97, 98] [means of 3.4-3.7]	socializing (.8) [95,96,97,98] [means of 3.9-4.0]	grammar practice & vocab (.7) [91,92,93,94] [means of 4.4-4.7]
3	comprehension check & discussion [102, 103, 104, 105] [means of 3.3 - 3.7]	video & audio (.7) [87,103,104] [means of 3.8-4.0]	socializing (.7) [95,96,97,98] [means of 4.5-4.7]
4	explanation (.7) [85, 88,89] [means of 2.1-3.1]	outside class (.7) [114,115] [means of 2.2 & 2.0]	feedback (.7) [107,108,109] [means 4.1,3.5,4]
5	outside class (.8) [114,115] [means of 1.8 & 1.9]	feedback on speaking (.9) [108,109] [means of 3.1]	managing peer work (.8) [100,101] [means of 4.7 & 4.8]
6	hand-outs (.7) [111,112,113] [means of 3.4-3.6]	hand-outs (.7) [111,112,113] [means 3.8-4.1]	video & audio (.8) [87,103,104] [means of 3.3-3.5]
7	directions about a test (.5) [82,83,84] [means of 3.0-3.1]	explaining about a test (.6) [82,83] [means of 3.8 & 3.7]	texts (.6) [88,102,105] [means of 4.7-4.8]
8	feedback (.4) [106, 107, 108, 109] [means 3.3,2.9,2.6,3.2]	——	outside class (.8) [114,115] [means of 1.7 & 1.8]

(*continued*)

Appendix B (*continued*)

Factor	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3
	Cluster 4 [items 116-158]: Observed Student Use		
1	asking about grammar & vocab (.6) [116,117,120,121,132,133] [means of 2.0-2.5]	asking for directions & instructions (.7) [127,128,130,131,134,135] [means of 2.6-3]	asking & socializing with the teacher (.6) [116,117,124, 126,127, 128,132,133,147,149] [means of 3.7-4.0]]
2	practice with peers (.7) [122,123,136,137,139] [means 3.8,3.3,3.2,3.6,3.2]	text comprehension & discussion (.7) [142-145] [means of 3.3-3.6]	peer practice (.6) [119,123,136,137, 140,146] [means of 3.6-3.8]
3	giving feedback (.8) [151,152,153,154] [means of 1.5-1.7]	peer practice (.7) [119,123,136,137] [means of 3.3-3.5]	giving feedback (.8) [151,152,153,154] [means of 2.2-2.4]
4	asking about background & instructions (.6) [124-128, 130, 131] [means of 2-2.3]	giving feedback (.7) [151,152,153,154] [means of 2 (153 & 154, speaking; and 2.5 (151 &152 on writing]	peer interaction (.7) [131,134,135,148,150] [means of 2.8-3.6]
5	text comprehension & discussion (.7) [142-145] [means of 2.7,2.6,2.3,2.3]	socializing with the teacher in class (.7) [147,149] [means of 2.8-3.1]	video & audio (.8) [125,143,145] [means of 3-3.3]
6	socializing (.6) [147-150] [means of 1.8-2.5]	outside class (.7) [156,157,158] [means of 1.5 -1.6]	grammar practice (.7) [118, 120] [means 4.4, 4.1]
7	outside class (.7) [157,158] [means of 1.3]	asking about background (.5) [124,125] [means of 3-3.2]	outside class (.7) [156,157,158] [means of 1.4-1.6]
8	grammar practice (.5) [118,119] [means of 3.6 & 3.2]	——	
9	group & pair work (.4) [138,140] [means of 2.6 & 2.5]		

Identity, Deficiency, and First Language Use in Foreign Language Education

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"Mit jeder Sprache, die du kannst, bist du ein Mensch mehr."
'For every language that you know, you are one more person.'
(Hungarian proverb; cited in Vorderwülbecke and Vorderwülbecke 1995, p. 1)

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide theoretical argumentation and concrete pedagogical suggestions for legitimizing and capitalizing on first and/or multiple language use in foreign language education (e.g., Auerbach 1993; Blyth 1995). In recent years, a number of researchers in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and Foreign Language Teaching (FLT) have argued that foreign language study, whether instructed or uninstructed, is intimately bound to issues of learner identity formation, contestation, and transitioning (e.g., Belz 1997; Kramsch 2000b; Lam 2000; Norton 2000; Pavlenko 1998, 2001; Pavlenko et al. 2001; see Belz 2002a, pp. 16–19 for a summary of work on identity in applied linguistics). For the purposes of this chapter, I follow Ivanic (1998, p. 11) and use the term *identity* to mean those dynamic, fluid and complex processes by means of which "individuals align themselves with groups, communities and/or sets of interests, values, beliefs and practices." In step with a significant body of scholarship in sociolinguistics (e.g., Auer 1998; Blom and Gumperz 1972; Gumperz 1982; Myers-Scotton 1993), I assume that the use of a particular *linguistic code* (language, dialect or register) can represent a particular identity; thus, the use of more than one language may function as the *representation* of multiple speaker identities (see Belz

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2002a, p. 32, 2002b, p. 62; Kramsch forthcoming; see also Ivanic 1998; Wortham 2001). As a corollary, one might argue, then, that the denial of the use of a certain language could be interpreted as a truncation of one's linguistic identity and therefore represent a form of symbolic violence to the self (see Derrida 1998; Lansburgh 1982, 1990).

The recognition of multiple identities in foreign language learning may entail the use of more than one language, including the first language or L1 in the language classroom. L1 use in the sense intended here, however, does not imply a de-emphasis on second language (L2) competence or the sanctioning of a linguistic free-for-all in the language classroom; instead, it pedagogically translates into didacticized examination and judicious use of the languages available in the learners' linguistic repertoire at some points in the course of L2 instruction. It focuses, in particular, on the inter-illumination of the emerging L2 and the pre-existing L1(s) from the perspective of the learner—not only in a grammatical or discursive sense, but also with regard to the *representational* qualities (Widdowson 1992, pp. 16–25) of these languages for particular learners in particular socio-historical milieus (e.g., Hoffmann 1989; Lansburgh 1982; Makine 1997; Ogulnick 2000; Rodriguez 1983). This classroom recognition and legitimation of multiple language use is situated globally within the framework of a worldwide multilingual reality, and it is aimed at L2 linguistic development alongside the development of intercultural competence and critical awareness of self and other, the goals of foreign language study according to a number of scholars (e.g., Byram 1997; Kramsch 1993a and b).

By now we are becoming increasingly more aware of the quotidian linguistic realities described by linguist John Edwards (p. 2) in his 1994 book, *Multilingualism*:

> A Bombay spice merchant has, as his maternal variety, a Kathiawari dialect of Gujerati, but at work he most often uses Kacchi. In the marketplace he speaks Marathi and, at the railway station, Hindustani. On internal air flights English is used, and he may watch English-language films at the cinema. He reads a Gujerati newspaper written in a dialect more standard than his own.

Bi- or multilingualism, Edwards (ibid.) notes, may also be a fact of life in seemingly monolingual societies: "You might live in the United States, where English has *de facto* status, and yet your life in a heterogeneous city like New York may require frequent switching between English and Spanish." In many parts of the world, this multilingual reality is richly represented in foreign language classrooms both collectively and individually. Sociolinguist Suzanne Romaine (1995, p. 1) soberly reminds us, however, that it would be "odd" to encounter an academic book with the title 'Monolingualism', although it is this state of affairs, in contrast to bi- or multilingualism, which appears to be the marked case worldwide.

One problem with the recognition and legitimation of the worldwide norm of multilingualism in the practices of the foreign language classroom lies in the monolingual bias that underpins the fields of SLA, FLT, and theoretical linguistics in general (Belz 2002b, pp. 60–62; V. Cook 1992, p. 577; Kramsch 2000a; Romaine 1995, p. 1). Much of the scholarly narrative in these fields has been peopled with a persistent, if pallid, character, namely, the *deficient communicator*. In an influential article in *The Modern Language Journal*, linguists Alan Firth and Johannes Wagner (1997, p. 285) argue that the unquestioned status of some fundamental concepts in SLA, e.g. the 'native speaker' and the 'learner', contribute to "an analytic mindset that elevates an idealized 'native' speaker above a stereotypicalized 'nonnative', while viewing the latter as a deficient communicator, limited by an underdeveloped communicative competence" (see also Bley-Vroman 1989, p. 43; Byram 1997, p. 21; Harder 1980; Kramsch 1996, 1997, 1998). As we shall see below, one of the major faults of the learner as deficient communicator is his or her use of the L1. Indeed, L1 use in foreign language study has appeared in the scholarly narratives of SLA and FLT as the greatest crime of the learner, a sin to be avoided at all costs (e.g., V. Cook 1999, p. 201; Kramsch 1997, p. 360). But, as Thorne (2000) reminds us, theoretical mindsets and narratives, like literary and personal ones (e.g., McAdams 1996), are historically situated *constructs* that are influenced by a host of socio-cultural factors including power relationships, institutional politics, economic interests, and individual life histories and experiences. Perhaps we could "shake up our ideas about L2 learning" (V. Cook 1992, p. 579), the 'deficiencies' of L2 learners, and their allegedly illicit use of L1, if the fields of SLA and FLT were predicated on the assumption of multilingualism, i.e., if we were to take as our starting point multilingual societies such as Cameroon (V. Cook 1992, p. 579; Kramsch 1993a, pp. 254–5) instead of monolingual myths and fictions (Belz 2002b; Bokamba 1994).

This premise forms the fundamental question of the present chapter: How would L1 use and/or multiple language use in the foreign language classroom be characterized in the scholarly narrative of SLA and FLT if the learner were understood as *multicompetent* instead of as *deficient*? V. Cook (1991) maintains that it is inaccurate to characterize the language learner only in terms of his or her L2 knowledge; instead, one must consider that the learner has intricate knowledge of an L1 and that this knowledge necessarily interfaces with his or her developing knowledge of the L2: "The term multicompetence implies that at some level the sum of the language knowledge in the mind is relevant . . . Language teaching is concerned with developing an L2 in a mind that already contains an L1" (V. Cook 1999, pp. 190–91; see also Kecskes 1998).

In the remainder of this chapter, I critically examine the pervasive association of L1 and/or multiple language use in foreign language learning with language learner deficiency. First, I exemplify the linguistic construction of the learner as a deficient communicator in a segment of the received narratives of SLA and FLT. Next, I discuss the most prevalent views on L1 use (and multiple language use) in SLA and FLT research. Then I examine the perspectives of EFL/ESL professionals on L1 use and illustrate how some language teachers link this practice to learner deficiency. In the following section, I analyze *multilingual learner utterances* or MLUs (Belz 2002a, p. 60), i.e. stretches of learner discourse that contain both L1(s) and L2(s), and relate them to advanced L2 competence and learner identity. These data were produced by third-year learners of German in response to their classroom engagement with bi- or multilingual literary texts (e.g., Ackermann 1984; Brooke-Rose 1968; Gómez-Peña 1993; Koller 1991; Schami 1992; Schütte 1987). Do these learner texts, in their admittance of the otherwise banned L1 (McGroarty 1998, pp. 613-15), echo the pervasive scholarly portrayal of the learner as a deficient communicator, struggling, but failing, to reach an idealized L2 linguistic norm? In a final section, I present concrete pedagogical suggestions based on Lansburgh (1977) for working with bi- and multilingual literary texts in the foreign language classroom.

The Deficient Communicator

Representations in the Scholarly Narrative

Research in the fields of SLA and FLT has been dominated primarily by a 'modernist' aesthetic. At its core, this aesthetic incorporates the fundamental components of *modern rational thought* as conceptualized in the European Enlightenment: (1) the existence of an objective, unitary, rule-governed reality; and (2) the application of a mechanistic, reductionist, and rule-based methodology for elucidating that reality (see also Kinginger 1998). In mainstream varieties of SLA and FLT, the grammatical competence of an L2 native speaker forms the objective and rule-governed reality in question. The acquisition of this competence comprises both the object of investigation of scholars and the goal of the language learner. Since the learner is measured against the objective and unitary grammatical competence of an L2 native speaker, he or she is necessarily an inherently deficient communicator.

The second component of the 'modernist' aesthetic is reflected in mainstream SLA and FLT in several ways. First, the view that L2 competence is amenable to reductionist explication is mirrored in the application of componential structural analysis (in contrast to investigations of context-sensitive use) as a means of elucidating the L2 system. Scholarly investigations of language learning and the language learner are pervaded by statistical analyses,[1] binary characterizations of the learner (e.g., [± motivated]), and discussions of validity, predictability, reliability, and generalizability (e.g., Ellis 1994; Kramsch 2000a; Mitchell and Myles 1998; VanPatten 1999). The 'modernist' aesthetic is reflected in language pedagogy by an emphasis on the incremental presentation of L2 grammar rules, the importance of L2 input (Krashen 1985), and the banishment of L1 use due to its alleged detrimental effects on L2 acquisition. In such frameworks, language learning becomes a serious business, frequently undertaken for utilitarian purposes (e.g., G. Cook 2000, pp. 157–160), where a premium is placed on L2 grammatical accuracy.

The 'modernist' aesthetic, along with other factors, has fostered the ascendancy of the deficient communicator mindset in the scholarly narrative of SLA and FLT. One example of the linguistic manifestation of this mindset is found in the following excerpt from Rosamund Mitchell and Florence Myles' (pp. 12–13) popular 1998 textbook, *Second Language Learning Theories*:

> Few, if any, adult learners ever come to blend indistinguishably with the community of target language [L2] 'native speakers'; most remain noticeably deviant in their pronunciation, and many continue to make grammar mistakes and to search for words, even when well motivated to learn, after years of study, residence and/or work in contact with the target language. Second language learning, then, is typified by *incomplete success*; the claimed systematic evolution of our underlying interlanguage rules toward the target language system seems doomed, most often, never to integrate completely with its goal." (italics in the original)

First, the nonnative-native dichotomy is established with the referring expressions "adult learners" and "native speakers". Both categories appear to be largely monolithic. To illustrate, "most" learners do not pronounce the foreign language well, "many" learners make grammar mistakes, and learners "never" reach their target language goals completely. The 'native speaker' appears to be a unitary concept as well, since no mention is made of internal diversity within the community of native speakers, e.g., dialect or register variation (Singh 1998). Through the collocation of such lexical items as "deviant", "mistakes", "incomplete success", and "doomed", the learner is characterized in terms of his or her failures and problems (e.g., Richards 1974; Firth and Wagner 1997, pp. 288–9). The 'inherently flawed' nature of the learner is underscored further with the qualification that even "well motivated" learners fail to adequately approximate the L2 norm. Alternative explanations of learner discourse such as creativity, play, and linguistic resourcefulness do not seem to be entertained thoroughly when the entire enterprise of second language learning is typified as an "incomplete success." Finally, this depiction of language learning appears to offer an etic perspective on the learning process. The learner is described primarily from the viewpoint of the analyst; his or her voice does not seem to be present noticeably in this characterization.

L1 Use in the Deficient Communicator Narrative

Although some of these 'modernist' precepts have eroded in the face of communicative (e.g., Savignon 1997) and sociocultural (e.g., Lantolf 2000) approaches to language learning and teaching, one element of the 'modernist' cannon appears to be firmly in place: the taboo on L1 use (see V. Cook 2001, p. 404). L1 use represents a taboo because it is thought to impede the learner's linear and incremental progress toward the rule-governed attainment of the idealized L2 norm.

In sociolinguistics, multiple language use or *code-switching* typically is regarded as the "conscious discourse strategy" of multilingual speakers (Nwoye 1993, p. 365). Much of the sociolinguistic research on this phenomenon has revolved around the delineation of functional taxonomies. SLA investigators appear to draw on this work when they borrow the term 'code-switching' to refer to multiple language use in the language classroom and when they present similar taxonomies of L1 use in classroom contexts (e.g., Eldridge 1996; Hird 1996; Hancock 1997; Legenhausen 1991; Macaro 2001; Polio and Duff 1994; Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie 2002; Woodall 2002). Commonly, they find that learners and instructors use L1 in the L2 classroom in order to aid comprehension, collaborate during group work, or when doing administrative classroom business or explaining grammar. The deficient communicator mindset, however, accounts for a different appraisal of these multilingual behaviors in SLA and FLT. Here, learners are not employing "conscious discourse strategies"; instead, they are hindered by lexical 'deficit' and 'underdeveloped' communicative competence. Since learners are measured against the yardstick of the idealized L2 norm, L1 use is viewed as anomalous in nature and in need of eradication. Hancock (1997, p. 233), for instance, suggests that "when learners select the L1 by default, there is a good chance that awareness-raising activities will persuade learners to use the target language instead" (see also Burnett 1998).

While other SLA studies of multiple language use appear to recognize that this phenomenon may be a purposeful communicative action, they nevertheless seem to conclude that the limit of its usefulness lies in the ways in which it can serve the acquisition of the L2. Many do not adequately consider alternative functions of L1 use and/or multiple language use in the foreign language classroom. Furthermore, these studies do not suggest concrete pedagogical plans for working effectively with multiple languages, including the L1, in the language classroom. To illustrate, Eldridge (1996, p. 310) concludes that learner "code-switching is a strategy that yields short-term benefits to the foreign language learner, but with a risk of hampering long-term acquisition" (see also Antón and DiCamilla 1998; Swain and Lapkin 2000; Turnbull 2001; Turnbull and Arnett 2002). Further, Giauque and Ely (1990), who advocate a 'code-switching' methodology in beginning-level foreign language learning, do so only on the assumption that the methodology will result in increased L2 use. Rampton (1995, p. 289) summarizes the sociolinguistic and SLA views on MLUs in the following way: "With code-switching research, language mixing is generally construed as . . . a skillful and appropriate strategy. With SLA, it is generally interpreted as error and a lack of competence" (see also V. Cook 1999, p. 193).

One recent exception to this view of the L1 in FLT has been V. Cook (2001) who proposes that foreign language educators should "open a door that has been firmly shut in language teaching for over 100 years, namely the systematic use of the first language...in the classroom." V. Cook (2001, pp. 413–17) makes suggestions, based, in part, on Polio and Duff's (1994) taxonomy of L1 use in six American classrooms, for ways in which both teachers and learners might use the L1 positively in the L2 classroom. For example, teachers might use L1 to convey meaning, explain grammar, check comprehension or to maintain disciplinary order. Students might use L1 positively in translating or organizing group work. Thus, V. Cook's discussion does not appear to add anything new to the ways in which we might understand and capitalize on L1 use in the classroom. What he does, instead, is call upon researchers and practitioners to *change their evaluative stance* toward known classroom functions of L1 use. Furthermore, in his view, L1 use does not appear to be qualified. In other words, he seems to assume, along with previous researchers, that L1 use functions solely in the attainment of predetermined learning objectives.

In this chapter, I suggest that in addition to more ostentatiously 'utilitarian' forms, L1 and/or multiple language use may surface in playful, affective, or creative modalities. Far from being merely frivolous, these forms of L1 use may prove to be utilitarian in nature as well. The difference is that they might function to validate and/or mediate aspects of foreign language learning that the profession is only beginning to address, namely, issues of learner identity. In short, L1 and/or multiple language use may provide insight into the ways in which multicompetent language users inhabit and relate to a pluralistic, multilingual world. In this light, as I suggested in the introduction to this chapter, the ban on L1 use may be of much more dire consequence than its allegedly detrimental effects on L2 acquisition; instead, it may be a matter of identity denial. Playful, affective, and creative uses of L1 and other languages are highlighted in this chapter.

L1 Use from the Perspective of Language Teaching Professionals

Given the dominant views on L1 use, it is not surprising, then, that "virtually all language teaching methods . . . have insisted that teaching techniques should not rely on the L1" (V. Cook 1999, p. 201; see also Duff and Polio 1990, p. 160; Zephir and Chirol 1993). The tenacity of the ban on L1 use among foreign language teaching professionals was clarified colorfully in a 2001 exchange on the 10,000-member TESL-L listserv, an electronic discussion list for teachers of English to speakers of other languages. In these exchanges, these foreign language teachers explicitly link L1 use to the allegedly deficient nature of the learner. The strand in question began with a contribution from an EFL teacher in the Czech Republic who related that a Hungarian colleague posts the following sign in her classroom and points to it when she wants to discourage student L1 use: "This is an English-speaking zone." The objective of the email was to elicit additional classroom techniques for discouraging the learner's use of the L1. The overwhelming consensus of the approximately 40 posts to this strand was that L1 use should be avoided because it is detrimental to L2 learning. Several absolutists advocated a complete ban on L1 use in L2 learning. These participants cited methodological, economic, moral, and research-based reasons to support their opinions: e.g., 'language teachers are paid to teach the L2, so they should teach it'; 'multiple language use or 'code-switching' indicates a lack of proficiency in both the L1 and the L2 and may point toward a failed educational system'; 'L1 use indicates that the teacher has failed in his or her duty'; and 'some people pay a lot of money to have their L1s banned in programs like Berlitz, so L1 should be avoided'.

Most list members seemed to feel that very limited use of the L1 was acceptable in some cases; beyond that, however, the L1 should be actively discouraged. These participants gave the following reasons for their opinions: 'you can't mime 'although"; 'L1 facilitates classroom management in a monolingual environment'; and 'L1 use emotionally supports learners with very low proficiency levels who have been in the country only a short time'. Despite their recognition of the efficacy of L1 use in a number of circumstances, this group characterized L1 use as: a 'distraction'; 'addictive'; a 'crutch', not a tool; a 'temptation'; and, most notably, 'the easy way out'. Some contributors cited Krashen's (1985) theory of comprehensible input as the reasoning behind their insistence on maximal L2 use. The most vociferous *advocate* of L1 use summarized his stance in the following way: "I do think the use of L1 should be limited, if used at all, but don't see it as automatically detrimental." Notably, only one e-mailer gave a reason for L1 use that was related to non-accuracy-oriented issues: "Sometimes it's just fun to play with languages."

Approximately one year after these exchanges took place, the 'L1 avoidance strand' was picked up again on TESL-L. At that time, an ESL teacher shared with the list that a tried and true method to "break the habit of whispering in L1" in the classroom was to make the "offenders" take a taste of a particularly disgusting food. These professional discussions on TESL-L appear to provide vivid validation of V. Cook's (2001, p. 405) contention that the avoidance of L1 is a "core belief" in language teaching and is "probably held in some form by the majority of the teaching profession."

The Multicompetent Language User

In this section, I paint a picture of the language learner as a multicompetent language user who carefully and consciously uses multiple linguistic codes not necessarily for reasons of deficiency and failure, but rather to play, represent, experiment, create, juxtapose, learn, and grow. Recently, a number of L2 researchers has argued that language play mediates L2 development (Belz 2002a, in preparation; G. Cook 2000; Lantolf, 1997; Tarone 2000). Therefore, the playful aspects of multiple language use may be particularly beneficial in the foreign language classroom. It is important to point out that the excerpts presented here do not constitute the 'best' or most 'interesting' cases; instead, they are representative of the data set as a whole (see Belz 2002a, 2002b for additional data from this same study).

Data and Method

The data are taken from a three-semester research project conducted at a large West Coast institution in 1996–97; it was designed initially to explore the nature of learner language choice from grammatical, functional, and affective perspectives. Thirty-one learners of German in three different sections of the same third-year course were asked to write as homework a 300–500-word multilingual text in L2 German and any other language(s) they might know. The topic and genre were left open. An emergent goal of the study became to examine whether or not the learners reacted as deficient communicators when the institutionalized ban on L1 use in the classroom at this particular institution was lifted. Would they primarily use their L1 as 'the easy way out' in circumstances where they did not know how to express something in their L2? Following the essay assignment, learners participated on a voluntary basis in open-ended interviews with the author during which they recalled their motivations for language choice at particular points in their experimental texts. In each case, learners were not questioned about specific language switches in their texts, rather they were allowed to comment freely on those choices that were most salient to them. In addition, certain learners (i.e., volunteers) provided excerpts from learning journals and completed surveys. Finally, four hours of classroom discourse were recorded in each of the three sections and transcribed in their entirety along with the interviews. The data examined here are drawn primarily from the experimental texts.

Multiple Language Use and Representations of Identity

For her experimental text, YOSHIE,[2] a 19-year-old Japanese and English-speaking student of German, chooses to write a nostalgic letter to her friend, ELSA, about the time they spent together at John F. Kennedy School, an American high-school in Berlin. In her letter, YOSHIE, now attending university in the U.S., positively reminisces about her high-school experiences and friends:

Example 1

> Amerika ist gross und freundlich, aber ich vermisse immer noch Berlin. Ich vermisse die schöne Stadt, Ku'damm, und besonders meine ganze Freunde von J.F.K.S. Kenglisch vermisse ich auch. Nur auf dem Gymnasium kann man Englisch und Deutsch vermischen.
>
> [YOSHIETXT3 lines: 37–39][3]
>
> *America is big and friendly, but I still miss Berlin. I miss the beautiful city, the Ku'damm, and especially all my friends at J.F.K.S. I also*

> *miss Kenglisch. High-school is the only place where you can mix English and German*

In this excerpt, YOSHIE states that she not only misses the city of Berlin, but also a certain language practice that she and her friends engaged in while in high-school, namely, extensive mixing of English and German (see also Doran 2001; Rampton 1995, for multiple language use among European youth in France and Britain, respectively). The perceptual saliency and importance of this practice to YOSHIE is reflected in its lexicalization in the form of *Kenglisch,* a triply hybridized language name (Belz 2002a, pp. 23–28), which unites the media of expression, English and *Deutsch* or German, and the location of its use, John F. *Kennedy* School. This linguistic sign, through its visual inter-penetration of two linguistic codes, may serve as a *textual icon* (Belz 2002a, p. 32) for the hybrid nature of YOSHIE's linguistic identity. In the next excerpt, YOSHIE exemplifies *Kenglisch,* particularly in lines 3 and 10, and explains the role that it played in shaping her identity.

Example 2

1 Usually, I would end the letter here, but I wanna tell you some-
2 thing…Bisher haben wir unsere Freundschaft behalten, und wir sind
3 immer noch close, aber wir haben uns schon ein ganzes Jahr…nicht
4 mehr gesehen. [*Until now we've maintained our friendship and we're*
5 *still close, but we haven't seen each other for a year already.*] I just
6 hope that we can still remain close friends, although we are starting to
7 walk different paths of life. The J.F.K.S. memories are ones that I'll
8 treasure forever. We all share the experience of living in Berlin, the
9 capital of Germany. Wir sahen, wie West Berlin und Ost Berlin vere-
10 inigt wurden. Wir "sharen" eine unique Vergangenheit und sind sehr
11 lucky. Nicht viele Leute können so viele Sprachen sprechen, lesen,
12 schreiben, und verstehen. [*We saw how West Berlin and East Berlin*
13 *were re-united. We share a unique past and are very lucky. Not many*
14 *people can speak, read, write, and understand so many languages.*] I
15 hope we can use our language skills, our exposure to so many cultures,
16 and our internationality to benefit all of society.

[YOSHIETXT3 lines: 47–57]

For YOSHIE, the hybridized language name *Kenglisch* is not only symbolic of happy and pleasurable times that she spent with close friends in high-school, but it also represents the crucial identity development and transitioning that she experienced in that particular period of her life in that particular community of practice. Her exposure to and proficiency in multiple languages helped form her "unique past" and shaped her "unique" perspective. YOSHIE views her "internationality" and her multicompetent language abilities, manifested sometimes as language mixing, not as a 'problem' or 'deficiency,' but as a potential "benefit" to "all of society". It is difficult to gauge whether or not the use of L1 in this text was detrimental to YOSHIE's L2 development; it seems clear, however, that the assignment of the multilingual text opened up for YOSHIE a sanctioned classroom space in which her multilingual reality was validated and in which she could present and reflect upon its consequences and meanings from her perspective.

Multiple Language Use, Play, Polysemy, and Iconicity

YEN is an 18-year-old learner of German who speaks both English and Cantonese natively. At the time she wrote her experimental text, she was a freshman majoring in Mass Communications and minoring in German and Asian-American Studies. YEN's essay is a brilliant linguistic representation of what Kramsch (1993a, pp. 233–57) refers to as the "third place." In effect, the third place refers to that critical vantage point from which one can appraise and critically juxtapose both L1 and L2 as well as C[ulture]1 and C2 (see also Agar 1994, p. 243). This critical distance is afforded through the process of foreign language learning and can be described, to a certain extent, as learning to see one's own language/culture through foreign eyes (e.g., Furstenberg, Levet, English, and Maillet 2001, p. 58; see also Byram 1997). As such, Kramsch's third place is intimately tied to learner identity and the ways in which foreign language learning can mediate identity transitioning, i.e. realignments with new and various views, beliefs, values and practices. The third place, however, does not simply represent the viewpoint of an outsider on the L1, rather this 'outside' vantage point is tempered by intimate and extensive knowledge of and experiences in the native language and culture (which are not on the table when L1 is banned in the classroom). The topic of YEN's experimental text is her (imagined) experiences with two German particles: *doch* and *bitte* (see Möllering 2001; Weydt 1983).

Example 3

1 Doch ist ein einfaches Wort, only four letters long, aber schon lang
2 genug. Einmal war ich mit einem Freund in einer intensiven Debatte.
3 Yes! No! Yes! No! YES! NO! DOCH!
4 "What did you say?" asked my friend.
5 Ummm....doch. Wie konnte ich erklären, dass mein Gehirn manchmal
6 einen Streich mit mir spielt, my brain played tricks on me?
7 Doch, wiederholte ich mich.
8 "What? Did you say dog?"
9 Ja, ich konnte sowas vorstellen – ein deutscher Tourist in Amerika

10 sieht einen Hund an -"Ach, vat ein sveet doch!"
11 I burst into laughter. Mein armer Freund hat nur dort ganz verwirrt
12 gestanden. To not complicate things erklärte ich mit drei Wörtern: it
13 means yes. In German, auf deutsch. And just left it at that.

14 Aber doch hat endlosen Bedeutungen. Um praktisch zu sein, ist
15 doch ein Wort, das eine bestimmte Betonung gibt. It adds emphasis.
16 Deshalb soll man doch als DOCH schreiben — in capital letters.
17 Natürlich wurde es besser, wenn man DOCH!!!! schreibt —with exclamation
18 marks. Es ist ein ganz starkes Wort und much more effective
19 than das englisches Wort "yes." Yesssssss!!! klingt komisch, like a
20 snake.Und man kann "yessssssssss..." für eine Ewigkeit sagen. Aber
21 doch ist DOCH!!! Es gibt ein bestimmtes Ende.

[YENTXT lines 5-84]

1 *Doch is a simple word, only four letters long, but long enough. Once*
2 *I was engaged in an intensive debate with a [male] friend.*
3 *Yes! No! Yes! No! YES! NO! DOCH!*
4 *"What did you say?" asked my friend.*
5 *Ummm...doch. How could I explain that my brain sometimes plays a*
6 *trick on me, my brain played tricks on me?*
7 *Doch, I repeated.*
8 *"What? Did you say dog?"*
9 *Yeah, I could imagine something like that - a German tourist in America*
10 *looks at a dog -*
11 *"Ach, vat ein sveet doch!"*
12 *I burst into laughter. My poor friend just stood there really confused.*
13 *To not complicate things I explained in three words: it means yes. In*
14 *German, in German. And just left it at that.*

15 *But doch has endless meanings. In order to be practical, doch is*
16 *a word that expresses emphasis. It adds emphasis. Therefore one*
17 *should write doch as DOCH—in capital letters. Naturally, it would be*
18 *better if one wrote DOCH!!!!—with exclamation marks. It's a really*
19 *strong word and much more effective than the English word "yes."*
20 *Yesssssss!!! sounds funny, like a snake. And one can say*
21 *"yessssssssss..." for an eternity. But doch is DOCH!!! There is a*
22 *definitive end.*

Throughout her text, YEN shifts between a variety of perspectives or subject positions, which are demarcated by the extent and type of L2 knowledge that the speaker/thinker of a particular phrase has at his or her disposal. In lines 1 and 2, YEN presents the L1 + L2 perspective that her learning of German affords her on the German modal particle *doch*. From an L1 English perspective, this is a 'simple word' in comparison to the many other lengthy nominal compounds that she must have encountered in her study of German. The phrase "aber schon lang genug", however, indicates the overlay of an L2 perspective and points to YEN's knowledge of the socio-pragmatic ambiguity of this particle. It is important to note that the addition of the L2 perspective is accompanied iconically by a concomitant code-switch from L1 English to L2 German. In line 3, YEN shifts perspective to narrate a past conversation and thus provides the linguistic data which fuel her metalinguistic reflections on the polysemy of *doch*. In an English conversation with a non-German-speaking friend, YEN lets slip a German *doch,* which is not understood by her interlocutor. Line 4 represents this monolingual speaker's perspective with respect to YEN's *doch*. In lines 5 and 6, YEN takes up position in her third place and considers how to explain the emission of the unexpected *doch* to a monolingual English speaker. Her elongated *umm* may be a textual index for her realization that, in contradistinction to her conversational partner, she possesses a unique vantage point that is not easily accessible to him and which has been shaped by her L2 learning. Narration of a past conversation is given again in lines 7 and 8. The L1-only perspective of YEN's monolingual friend is concretized in his inaccurate rendering of German *doch* as English *dog*. At line 9, YEN shifts again into the mental space of her multilingual reality and considers how an L1 speaker potentially could mistake *doch* for *dog*. She is imagining the L2 world through the eyes of a monolingual English speaker; she, in contrast, is a *multicompetent* speaker of L1 English. Line 10 represents a radical, imagined shift to the perspective of an L1 *German* speaker who mistakenly pronounces English *dog* as German *doch*. In other words, at line 10 YEN mentally flip-flops the L1 English perspective on German *doch* to an L1 German perspective on English *dog*. Her laughter in line 11 can only be understood as a consequence of her ability to occupy multiple linguistic subject positions, i.e. as a result of her multicompetence. Her monolingual friend, in sharp contrast, cannot laugh at these multilingual, metalingual musings; he can only stand there, confused and uncertain. Thus, YEN's ability to perceive this communicational breakdown as a source of multilingual language play is an example of the type of advanced linguistic actions that a multicompetent conceptualization of the language learner might reveal and ultimately legitimize. In contrast to her laughter, which is based on this new conceptualization, YEN's watered-down explanation of *doch* to her friend in lines 12 and 13 reflects what she must assume to be his 'modernist' understanding of foreign languages, i.e. a one-to-one unitary and objective correspondence between L1 and L2 forms.

But this is not YEN's understanding as her remaining metalingual reflections in lines 14-21 show. In lines 14 and 15, she relates that *doch* doesn't really have a specific semantic content; instead, it has a qualifying function: it adds emphasis to other semantic content. As a result, it is polysemous and can even have antonymous meanings, e.g. it can mean both *yes* and *no*. In order to iconically reflect the qualifying function of *doch*, YEN suggests that it should be represented in capital letters followed by exclamation points in the written medium. This suggestion indicates the very visceral and locally relevant ways in which many language learners initially experience the stuff of foreign code (e.g., Belz 2002b, pp. 68–73; Hill and Mannheim 1992; Rampton 1999). Finally, YEN contrasts the meaning of her use of DOCH! (affirmation) in line 3 with the English symbol used to express this same meaning, i.e. *yes*. From her critical, multicompetent perspective, she appears to prefer German *doch* as opposed to English *yes* to express this meaning. This preference may be based on her locally relevant perception of the palatal fricative [ç] as shorter and more abrupt and, therefore, more decisive in contrast to the longer and thus more tentative alveolar fricative [s]. YEN's interpretation of the phonetic articulation of [s] as provisional is expressed in writing through her repetition of the grapheme <s> and her comparison of the locally-produced icon *Yesssssssss!!!* with a tricky, slippery snake (see Jakobson and Waugh 1987, p. 182).

What is crucial in this example is the fact that YEN's ability to construct metalingual jokes, to reflect on the polysemy of *doch*, and to seamlessly inter-relate semantics, phonetics, and graphemics is made possible by her knowledge of more than one language. In this case, YEN's L1 use does not impede her L2 acquisition as would be predicted in the deficient communicator mindset; indeed, it allows her to express a playful and imaginative type of *advanced* proficiency that is rarely, if ever, discussed in mainstream, utilitarian-oriented foreign language study or SLA research (see G. Cook 2000, pp. 157–160).

In example 4 below, YEN's use of L1 English affords her the opportunity to exhibit extensive socio-pragmatic competence in regard to an L2 *rich point*. Agar (1994, pp. 99–100) uses the term 'rich point' to refer to those pieces of discourse such as particular words, phrases, or communicative patterns, which indicate that two different conceptual systems, i.e. two "languacultures", have come into contact. In German, one finds a linguistic bifurcation of the second person pronoun of address into the 'more formal' *Sie* and the 'more informal' *du*. Agar (1994, pp. 18–19) takes this so-called *du/Sie* dichotomy and the lack of corresponding forms in the pronominal system of English as his showcase example of a rich point (see also Lansburgh 1977, p. 7).

According to Agar (1994, p. 100), rich points are frequently difficult to understand and hard for language learners to use appropriately because they are highly context-dependent (Belz and Kinginger forthcoming). In the case of *du* and *Sie,* Delisle (1986, pp. 6 and 13) points out that even native speakers have difficulty navigating the complexity of this distinction. The German word *bitte,* which is only sometimes roughly translated as *please,* forms an analogous example of a German-English rich point. In the following excerpt, YEN is able to illuminate the complexity of this languacultural chasm through her sophisticated use of *both* English and German in her experimental text.

Example 4

1 Ein anderes all-purpose Wort ist bitte. Nicht bitter sondern bit-tah.
2 Ein normales englisches Gespräch mit den Gebrauch des Wortes
3 "bitte":
4 A: Give me a cup of coffee bitte!
5 B: Bitte don't spill the coffee on yourself.
6 A: Wie bitte?
7 B: Bitte schön. Shall I leave it on the table?
8 A: Aber bitte! Thanks.
9 B: Bitte sehr.
10 A: spills the coffee.
11 A: Bitte hand me a napkin!
12 B: Bitte schön. Na, bitte! I knew you would spill your coffee
13 A: Wie bitte?

[YENTXT lines: 133-168]

1 *Another all-purpose word is bitte. Not bitter but bit-tah. A normal En-*
2 *glish conversation with the use of the word "bitte":*
3 *A: Give me a cup of coffee please!*
4 *B: Please don't spill the coffee on yourself.*
5 *A: Excuse me? [signals lack of comprehension]*
6 *B: Here you go. Shall I leave it on the table?*
7 *A: Yes! Thanks.*
8 *B: You're welcome.*
9 *A: spills the coffee.*
10 *A: Please hand me a napkin.*
11 *B: Here you are. Oh dear! I knew you would spill our coffee.*
12 *A: Excuse me? [signals lack of comprehension]*

In line 1, YEN indicates that she is aware of the rampant polysemy of *bitte* by her use of the English word 'all-purpose'. In the next sentence, she imagines how a monolingual speaker of English might perceive the word to be pronounced when she asserts that *bitte* is not pronounced like *bitter*. In lines 2-3, YEN announces that she will now illustrate the polysemy of German *bitte* by using it in an ordinary *English* conversation. This strategy is noteworthy since it reveals that the juxtaposition of L1 and L2 may serve the development (or consolidation) of socio-pragmatic ambiguity rather than indicating the failure of a deficient L2 communicator. In lines 4 and 5, YEN illustrates the use of *bitte* when it means *please* in a polite request. The idiomatic expression in line 6 signals A's inability to interpret B's utterance in line 5. He has either misunderstood or not heard what B has said. The use of *bitte schön* in lines 7 and 12 represents a salient cultural rich point between German and English. Typically, this phrase is used in German when a host or hostess offers a guest some form of refreshment, indicating that the guest should take it. The English equivalent of *bitte* under these circumstances is either silence or 'here you go' or 'here you are'. Lansburgh (1977, p. 21) parodies this languacultural rupture when a character in his novel, a German-speaking learner of English, utters an inappropriate 'please' as she offers her guest the sugar bowl: "Es hat keinen Sinn, einer freundlich gestimmten Anfängerin das "bitte" zu nehmen, auch wenn's auf englisch in diesem Fall nicht "please" heißt, sondern gar nichts."[5] The *bitte* in line 8 can be interpreted as an affirmation of B's question in line 7. *Bitte sehr* in line 9 is a ritual response to *thanks* in line 8; it usually occurs as the second half of the German adjacency pair *Danke schön/bitte sehr* 'thank you/you're welcome.' In line 11, *bitte* functions as a request. The first *bitte* in line 12 again represents the situation where one conversational partner hands the other something, in this case a napkin. The second *bitte* in line 12 is a reproachful interjection reflecting B's displeasure at the spilled coffee. In line 13, *bitte* once again signals lack of comprehension. This proficient display of L2 pragmatic competence is clarified for the L1 monolingual speaker by inserting *bitte* at the relevant points in an *English* conversation. YEN's switches into L1 English are not the mark of a deficient L2 communicator; instead they serve as a *clarifying semantic framework* in which the socio-pragmatic ambiguity of German *bitte* is disambiguated.

On a questionnaire that YEN completed after writing her experimental essay, she comments that multilingual texts reveal "how languages can be manipulated and intertwined to create an amusing and understandable story. [They illustrate] the complexity of languages and emphasize the relationships between different languages with both similarities and differences." On this same instrument YEN clearly indicates that she was not operating as a deficient communicator in terms of language choice when constructing her experimental text: "I never realized how difficult it is to write multilingual texts, even when using only two languages. You need to think carefully about where to place every word and how to incorporate tools like code-switching."

Multiple Language Use, Discourse Particles, and Ritual

In her multilingual text, DEBI, a 32-year-old L1 English speaker, showcases a segment of her second language that is characterized by its ritualistic quality: the German discourse particle *also*.

Example 5

1 Also ist ein Wort, that I'd really love to use in English, but niemand
2 versteht mich, wenn ich's nutzte. I suppose I could explain it to my
3 friends, "Ja, also." No I don't mean also as in in addition to, nee, das
4 wäre's nicht. Ich meine, tja, einfach "Also." Und es gibt noch ein paar
5 Worte auf Deutsch, die ich immer ab und zu benutzen will (which is a
6 nice little construction I like, übrigens, immer ab und zu, also, now
7 and then, wenn ich mich nicht irre).[5]

[DEBITXT lines 7–35]

1 *Also is a word that I'd really love to use in English but no one would*
2 *understand me if I were to use it. I suppose I could explain it to my*
3 *friends, "Ja, also." No I don't mean also as in 'in addition to', no that's*
4 *not it. I mean, hmmm, simply "Also." And there are a few other words*
5 *in German that I'd like to use now and then (which is a nice little con-*
6 *struction I like, by the way, immer ab und zu, also, now and then, if*
7 *I'm not mistaken).*

This discourse particle typically functions as a place-holder in oral conversation, a hesitation marker that fends off any interruption while the speaker thinks of the next thing to say (Fischer 2000). The ability to appropriately use this distinctively German conversational ritual, one which carries enormous symbolic significance as a cultural icon, would afford the learner considerable symbolic cultural capital (see Bourdieu 1991). DEBI repeatedly exhibits this skill throughout her text. For example, when DEBI code-switches at "Ja. also" in line 3 of example 5 above, she correctly uses the particle in this place-holder function within her own metalingual commentary on the meaning of *also*. Her text, however, does not seem to be a celebration of her development of the native-like competence required for the appropriate ritualistic deployment of this particle; indeed, DEBI appears to subvert this eminently native-like ritual in two distinct regards.

First, she undermines the conventionalized use of this linguistic cultural icon for humorous effect. Consider line 6 in example 5 above where DEBI again uses *also* as a conventionalized focal particle, this time in metalingual commentary about the attractiveness of another phrase: *ab und zu*. Her text acquires a quality of humorous transgression, which lies in the way that she skillfully and correctly uses the particle in precisely those segments of her discourse where, at the explicit level of proposition, she is providing metacommentary on the code itself.

Secondly, DEBI re-semiotizes *also*, i.e. she assigns new meaning to the conventionalized pragmatic value of this particle in that she foregrounds the acoustic palpability of the linguistic sign by imbuing it with her own localized meanings (Belz 2002b, p. 64). Consider example (6) below:

Example 6

> Ich meine, I think, die Bedeutung lebt in der Zunge, im Mund, how can I explain this? The meaning of also lies in the way that the tongue reaches up for the roof of the mouth und dann bleibt's da, und die Bedeutung liegt darin, wie lange man die Zunge daroben lässt. Es ist ein besonderer Ton, Allllso, im Vergleich mit Also.
>
> [DEBITXT lines 121–138]
>
> *I mean, I think, the meaning lives in the tongue, in the mouth, how can I explain this? The meaning of also lies in the way that the tongue reaches up for the roof of the mouth and then it stays there and the meaning resides in how long you leave your tongue up there. It's a certain tone, allllso, as compared to also.*

For DEBI, the meaning of *also* no longer lies in its conventional function as a discourse particle for conversational management, but rather in the learner-controlled variability of its physical articulation, e.g. the length of time that the tongue remains at the roof of the mouth in the production of the phoneme /l/. Visually, this variability is iconically portrayed by DEBI's reduplication of the letter <l> on the page. DEBI's attraction to this sign is predicated on her repudiation of its conventionalized function in favor of her own idiosyncratic semantic interpretation of its physical articulation, i.e. by her re-design (Kress 2000) of its meaning. Her ability to control the length of time the tongue remains at the roof of the mouth becomes a measure of her power to shape and respond to the whole interpersonal context of the conversation. On the whole, DEBI's use of multiple languages, including L1, in instructed SLA does not appear to characterize her as a deficient communicator; instead, her juxtaposition of L1 and L2 appears to facilitate her metalingual reflections on both L1 and L2, her humorous textual deployment of a German discourse particle, and her re-semioticization of an L2 sign. These abilities to re-deploy, re-semiotize, re-assign and re-design segments of foreign code against a backdrop of L1 meanings illustrates the ways in which foreign language learning may afford learner identity transitioning and how those transitionings may be represented linguistically.

Pedagogical Suggestions for Working with Multilingual Literary Texts in the Foreign Language Classroom

The recommendations in this section are based on the first 101 lines of the 252-page German-English novel *Dear Doosie: Eine Liebesgeschichte in Briefen* by Werner Lansburgh (1977, pp. 7–9). This excerpt and an English translation,[6] are given in the appendix. I suggest that the reader take a moment to familiarize him- or herself with this text at this point since the suggestions in the following subsections assume a good knowledge of it.

Dear Doosie, a German bestseller, is the first novel in Lansburgh's bilingual trilogy (see also Fendt and Kemeny 2001). It takes the form of an epistolary love story between the first person narrator and an imagined addressee, *Doosie*. Lansburgh explicitly positions the narrator as a non-native teacher of English who offers his German-speaking language student and would-be lover, *Doosie*, bilingual foreign language instruction throughout the novel. Lansburgh the author led the tragic life of an exiled German Jew who, by virtue of his forced wanderings, learned four second languages in immigration (see Lansburgh 1990). The languacultural odyssey of his life story constitutes the backdrop of the *Doosie* trilogy and this, in combination with the bilingual nature of the text itself, provides the learner a rich site for the examination of (a) the linguistic and affective inter-illumination of German and English; and (b) the textual representation of the relationship between language learning in immigration, identity transitioning, and language choice (see Belz, 2001, 2002c for further discussion of Lansburgh).

The excerpt in question lends itself well to a 2–3 week unit on multilingualism, language and ideology, and language and culture in the intermediate to advanced German-language classroom. Students are first challenged to consider the concepts of multilingualism and monolingualism in general and to explore their own multicompetent abilities as well as those of their peers. Next, they are introduced to several basic linguistic concepts, including linguistic criticism (Fowler 1996), and encouraged to use these in their analysis of cultural fault lines (Kramsch 1993a), i.e. languacultural ruptures, in *Dear Doosie*. In particular, students are shown how ideology and culture are embedded in linguistic and visual codes and are enabled to interpret texts based on linguistic features. Finally, students are encouraged to produce their own multilingual texts as a means of: (a) increasing their metalinguistic awareness of both L1 and L2 (Py 1996); (b) increasing and solidifying their L2 competencies; (c) validating their own multicompetent faculties; (d) encouraging L2 language play, a mediator of L2 development (Belz in preparation; G. Cook 2000; Lantolf 1997); (e) exploring the affective and representational qualities of the languages they know (Widdowson 1992); and (f) reviewing aspects of L2 grammar. Due to space considerations only a selection of possible activities are reported here.

Multiple Language Use and the Development of Meta-Linguistic Awareness

In an initial activity, students are asked to read the text at home and to list their reactions to it. A plenary discussion of these reactions may serve as a launching pad for the presentation of content regarding the phenomena of multilingualism and code-switching. For some students, this may lead to a greater appreciation of their own linguistic abilities. Next, students are asked to underline words in the text that are ambiguous with respect to language. For example, is the word *Doosie* English or German? Lansburgh constructs this name by linking together the German second person pronouns of address, *du* and *Sie*. However, he uses the English orthographic convention <oo> to represent the high rounded back vowel [u] written as <u> in the German word *du*. Furthermore, the German capitalization convention for the word *Sie* is subverted to the English capitalization convention for word internal morphemes. Therefore, in some senses, the name belongs to the English code and in others, to the German code. In a socio-pragmatic sense, however, the word belongs to neither language because the social distinction maintained by *du* and *Sie* in German finds neither linguistic nor matching social expression in English because German speakers make a paradigmatic choice between the two forms; they are not employed in syntagm as they are in the word *Doosie*. The examination of the inter-penetration of English and German in the word *Doosie* may promote a more intensive examination of the inter-penetration of English and German in the lives of the learners and an exploration of the criteria that demarcate a linguistic code, e.g. orthography, phonology, or socio-pragmatics and conventional usage. Additionally, this activity may lead to a much-needed explication of the socio-pragmatic ambiguity of address form use in German (e.g., Stevenson 1997), an important area of communicative competence that is typically not treated in its entirety in the German-language classroom (see Delisle, 1986).

Other possible candidates for analysis in this activity are: (a) *mit diesem Doosie* (lines 29-30); (b) *Du-Sie* (line 34); (c) *mit diesem whether-weather* (lines 14–15); (d) *aufdrängen-impose will* (line 89); and (e) *zur midnight sun* (line 50). In the case of (d), students must consider if *will* represents the German modal verb, the English future auxiliary, or the English noun. For (e), students must discuss whether or not *midnight sun* is a loan word or a code-switch and whether or not it is the article or the noun that determines linguistic membership, among other things.

Multiple Language Use and Language Functions

In the form of a mini-lecture, students are introduced to Jakobson's (1960) six functions of language. These are: (1) referential; (2) emotive; (3) conative; (4) phatic; (5) metalingual; and (6) poetic. The referential function of language is realized when an utterance refers to a state of affairs in the real world. The emotive function is expressive in nature and conveys the speaker's attitude toward his or her topic. A speaker uses language conatively when he or she focuses on the addressee. Jakobson (1960, p. 355) explains that the conative function "finds its purest grammatical expression in the vocative or imperative..." Language functions phatically when it is used to establish, prolong or terminate communication. Examples include greetings (*hello*) or exclamations (*hey!)*. Language is used metalingually when the topic of conversation is the linguistic code itself (e.g., *How do you spell 'utterance'?*). The poetic function of language refers to the situation where language is used reflexively to draw attention to itself. It is often characterized as language for the sake of language and can be seen in playful and pleasurable vocalizations, poetry, and nursery rhymes, among other things. Jakobson (1960, p. 356) cautions, however, that "[a]ny attempt to reduce the sphere of poetic function to poetry or to confine poetry to poetic function would be a delusive oversimplification. Poetic function is not the sole function of verbal art but only its dominant, determining function . . . [t]his function, by promoting the palpability of signs, deepens the fundamental dichotomy of signs and objects."

In a subsequent group work activity, students are asked to find segments in the *Doosie* text that illustrate these various functions. For example, the phrase "Sir Reginald, den damaligen Botschafter in Stockholm" in lines 42–3 represents the referential function. The conative function is seen in lines 8–9 when the narrator asks *Doosie* to translate the German conjunction *ob* into English. The phatic function is illustrated in line 34 with the vocative phrase *liebe Doosie*. The metalingual function is well represented in the *Doosie* text. For example, the narrator explicitly thematizes language in lines 10–11: "Nicht *if*, sondern *whether*, ausgesprochen wie *weather*, Wetter." It should be noted in this case that multiple language use serves as a means of inter-codal illumination and draws the learner's attention to both the similarities and the differences between *ob, if, whether, weather*, and *Wetter.* This process may ultimately function to aid L2 development.

To a certain degree, the entire *Doosie* excerpt provided in the appendix represents the poetic function of language because of the self-reflexive nature of the text. Although the author ostensibly is engaged in the activity of letter writing, presumably in order to communicate some type of message to the addressee, this goal is side-tracked when he stops in line 3 to reflect on his use of *Doosie* in the opening line of his letter. The rest of the excerpt is a result of this textual reflexivity.

This exercise can expand learners' conceptualization of the purposes of linguistic interaction in general and foreign language learning in particular. They may come to realize that certain utterances are multifunctional in nature, which will enhance textual interpretation, and they may be enabled to employ strategies of functional polysemy in their own writing.

Multiple Language Use, Anaphora, and Linguistic Criticism

In its essence, linguistic criticism is concerned with linking textual interpretations to linguistic features (Fowler 1996). In the case of *Dear Doosie*, learners sometimes remark that the text is confusing, yet somehow cohesive. This reaction can be supported with linguistic evidence by revealing the ways in which Lansburgh switches at the levels of (a) code; (b) grammatical category (e.g., noun, verb, conjunction, etc); and (c) language function in a single sequence of anaphoric reference and substitution. The goals of this activity are (a) to introduce particular linguistic concepts to the learners, e.g. anaphora, lexical substitution, cohesion, and linguistic criticism; (b) to model for them a close linguistic reading of a text; (c) to increase their awareness of the ways in which texts can be constructed purposefully; and (d) to enable them to perform similar analyses on other texts.

In the form of a mini-lecture, students are introduced to the concepts of anaphoric reference, lexical substitution, and grammatical category. They are then asked to function as co-investigators along with their instructor as they attempt to apply these concepts to an excerpt from the *Doosie* text. In particular, they are asked to pay attention to the role that multiple language use plays in grounding their interpretations of this text.

The sequence of anaphoric reference in question begins in line 6 and is headed by the German conjunction *ob* or whether. This word is first used referentially as part of the *Doosie* text itself. In line 8, *ob* is repeated as a quote of the phrase "ob ich Du oder Sie" in which it first occurs. In line 9, *ob* is used metalinguistically when it becomes the topic of discussion in the author's softened imperative to the addressee. In this shift from code to metacode, *ob* has also changed grammatical category from conjunction to noun. Its next occurrence in the sequence is the addressee's ellipted answer to the question posed in lines 8–9 by the narrator: "Könnten Sie mir bitte einmal ganz schnell dieses "ob" übersetzen?" The requested task implies a code-switch, but the code as well as the actual answer is left unspecified. The inclusion of this 'textual hole' underscores for the learner the importance of paying attention to what is left unsaid in the process of textual analysis.

With the metalinguistic use of *if* in line 10, there is an explicit code switch into English. The next member of the *ob*-sequence, *whether* in line10, remains at the level of metacode as the narrator's answer to his own question—perhaps a repetition of *Doosie*'s ellipted translation of *ob* between lines 9 and 10. *Weather* in line 11 at the level of metacode in the English language switches grammatical category from conjunction to noun and takes its place in the *ob*-sequence by virtue of homonymy or phonetic mimicry to *whether*. *Wetter* in line 11 is an apposition to *weather* and represents a code-switch to German while maintaining the grammatical category of noun. *Womit* maintains the German code, grammatically, however, it is a conflated prepositional phrase with a pronominal object. It is both anaphoric and cataphoric by referring back to *Wetter* as the full noun object of the preposition and forward to *Wettergeschwätz*, also the object of the preposition by means of substitution. In terms of language function, there is a switch from metalingual to referential with *Wettergeschwätz* or 'small talk about the weather' in lines 12 and 13. The latter notion is semantically piggybacked onto the textual occurrence of *Wetter* and draws upon the author's and the reader's shared background knowledge of prior texts that small talk about the weather is a common way of striking up a conversation with an unknown party. This is the context of the *Doosie* text although the content has actually not occurred. In other words, the narrator and his addressee have not talked about 'the weather' but rather about *ob*.[7] It is this complicated, yet sophisticated method of constant switching at the levels of code, grammatical category, and language function within a single sequence of anaphoric reference and substitution that accounts for the learners' reaction that the text is confusing yet somehow cohesive. An application of the tools of linguistic criticism has brought to light the precise nature of that textual cohesion.

Multiple Language Use and the Promotion of Textual Analysis.

As a group work activity, students are asked to discuss the gender of the *Doosie* character. After gathering initial impressions, they are asked to provide linguistic evidence for their decisions. This process promotes a close reading of the text and attention to grammatical detail.

The gender and number of the fictional *Doosie*-character is linguistically revealed in piecemeal fashion. First, the vocative phrase *liebe Doosie* in line 34 is a direct address to the individual(s) who bear(s) this label. The *Doosie* character seems to be explicitly gendered in light of the feminine adjective ending on *liebe*; however, this ending could also indicate a plural in this particular construction, both male and female or either sex exclusively and, indeed, this ambiguity in borne out in line 38 where *Doosie* is substituted with *Leser* and not *Leserin* 'female reader'. *Leser* could refer to either an individual male reader (which contradicts the individual female interpretation of *liebe*) or many readers either male, female or both. This conundrum is not resolved until line 87 when the narrator states: "Nun weiß ich aber Ihren Vornamen nicht, Doosie". The masculine singular accusative ending on *Ihren* unequivocally reveals *Doosie* to be one person and, in retrospect, the adjective ending on *liebe* in 34 can be interpreted as a feminine rather than a plural. Thus, the *Doosie*-character is an individual female. Further evidence for the singularity of this position comes in line 68 with *wir beide*, a first person dual, meant to include an addressor and an addressee. In this activity, learners are provided with another example of the use of linguistic criticism as a method of textual interpretation. Students might also consider the gender of the first-person narrator. In this activity, the following points will be relevant: (a) *Schreiber* (line 39); (b) *letzterer* (line 49); (c) *secretary* (line 49); and (d) *dieses W* (line 92). It is interesting to observe that the author's switch at 'secretary' in line 49 obfuscates the gender of the narrator for a time.

Multiple Language Use and Linguistic Creativity

As a final activity in this unit, learners are asked to write their own multilingual texts as homework. In addition, they are asked to keep a log of why they chose a certain language at a specific point in their texts and to make enough copies of their texts for each member of the class. In the next session, learners pass out copies of their texts (which may contain non-Roman characters), perform their texts for their peers, and explain their language choices at particular points. As we have seen in examples (1)–(6) above, learners do not necessarily use L1 as 'the easy way out' in this activity; in fact, as reported in Belz (2002b, p. 78), they do so in only three of the 71 code-switches that they commented on during interviews. Thus, this activity, by *requiring* the use of L1, cannot necessarily be seen as an exercise in impeding L2 development. First, we have seen, in the case of YOSHIE, that multiple language use in the form of the experimental essay validates her own multilingual reality. The essay provides a sanctioned space in which she can explore this reality in the institutionalized context of the language classroom under the guidance of an instructor. Furthermore, YOSHIE explicitly links multiple language use to aspects of her compound and complex identity. Next, YEN clearly illustrates the ways in which multiple language use in the classroom can enhance the dynamic negotiation of a third place, a vantage point from which to critically examine the languages and identities at her disposal. More than this, however, multiple language use affords her the opportunity to compare and evaluate her multicompetent mode of being with that of her (imagined) monocompetent interlocutor. I would speculate that she opts for multicompetence. Finally, DEBI shows us how the multilingual considerations afforded by the multilingual essay assignment allow her to carefully consider the affective qualities of particular words and phrases in both L1 and L2 and therefore to choose how she will express herself in which language at which time. This freedom to re-semiotize the foreign as well as native code(s), to use all linguistic resources available to design (Kress 2000) how one's self is portrayed in text, indeed, to play with one's linguistic identity, is unavailable in the language classroom where L1(s) (and other codes) are banned.

Conclusion

The language learners in this study use their multicompetence to pursue advanced levels of L2 competence that are not normally able to explore in the traditional correctness-oriented classroom. In so doing, these learners are able to occupy third places from which they could both play with and reflect on multiple linguistic identities. The sophistication of these learners' linguistic juxtapositions goes far beyond their ability to merely conform to standardized forms of grammar. In their self-conscious, playful and quixotic uses of language, they seem to be closer to the style of experimental multilingual novels (e.g., Brooke-Rose 1968) and multilingual verbal performance art (e.g., Gómez-Peña 1993). One should be cautious, however, in celebrating these students' multilingual linguistic actions. Much more ethnographic research is needed to ascertain what kinds of learners are likely to engage in what kinds of multilingual actions and whether the ability to play with language in this way is a quality that is equally distributed among learners (see Belz in preparation).

The experimental assignment reported here may be viewed by many foreign language professionals as quite heterodox practice, as the discussion on TESL-L exemplifies. Although recent SLA research has shown the benefits that could be gained by judicious use of L1 in the language classroom (e.g., Antón and DiCamilla 1998; V. Cook 2001), this use has been limited primarily to the ways in which it can aid the acquisition of L2 forms. It has not been studied robustly within a multilingual framework (see, however, Belz 2002a and b). Among foreign language teachers, code-mixing is stigmatized, especially in communicative language pedagogy. Although these students' texts refer to social encounters in socially bound settings, the students themselves cross social and linguistic boundaries with an impunity that might not be possible in the real world of national standard languages and their gate-keepers: schools, publishers, and academia (see Doran 2001; Rampton 1995), although I would argue that these restrictions break down to an extent in computer-mediated communication (see Herring 2002).

On the other hand, the data in this study precisely call into question a narrow definition of the language learner as a deficient L2 user in pursuit of a standard native speaker ideal and suggest instead a new 'construct-to-think-with' (Turkle 1997, pp. 47–9): *the multicompetent language user*. To varying degrees, these learners were engaged in processes of meaning creation, identity transitioning, and metalinguistic play that were enhanced, indeed, made possible by their multicompetence. The pleasure evinced by the authors of these multilingual texts seems to be indicative of a deeper aspect of second language learning, that has been underestimated until now. Namely, the linguistic juxtapositions we find in these texts are a source of pleasure because they are a source of distinction.

The multilingual text is a showcase example of the liminal nature (Rampton 1995, p. 292) of the postmodern world and of the foreign language learner, who, unlike most native speakers, is acutely attuned to the physicality and materiality of style: the sound of visual shapes and the shape of sounds, the polysemy of modal particles, and the increased semiotic resources offered by the new code (Belz 2002b, pp. 68-73). For learners of a foreign language, experimenting with this new code might not be a question of which culture they will ultimately adopt, nor which native speaker they will strive to become, but how they will choose to inhabit a new multilingual mode of being. Communication in cross-cultural settings may entail less the adherence to conventionalized forms of a fixed national standard than the ability to manipulate both conventional and unconventional structures with an enhanced awareness of their semiotic potential. It is hoped that the activities suggested in the final section will provide foreign language teaching professionals with a template for capitalizing on the multicompetent realities in their language classrooms.

Appendix[6]

1 **Mostly about a Name**
Mostly about a Name
2 Dear Doosie,
Dear Doosie,
3 warum ich Sie Doosie nenne, fragen Sie? Well, my dear,
why am I calling you Doosie, you ask? Well, my dear,
4 don't you understand German - verstehen Sie denn
don't you understand German – don't you understand
5 kein Deutsch? I am calling you Doosie, weil ich noch
German? I am calling you Doosie because I
6 nicht recht weiß, ob ich Du oder Sie zu Ihnen sagen soll.
don't yet really know yet if I should say you or you to you.
7 Deshalb. That's why.
That's why. That's why.
8 "… ob ich Du oder Sie …" Könnten Sie mir bitte
"…if I [should say] you or you…" Could you please
9 einmal ganz schnell dieses "ob" übersetzen?
quickly translate this "ob" for me?
10 Gut! (bzw.:) Schlecht! Nicht *if* , sondern *whether* , aus-
Good! (or:) Bad! Not if, but whether,
11 gesprochen wie *weather* , Wetter. Womit wir unsere Un-
pronounced like weather, weather. With which we
12 terhaltung sehr englisch angefangen haben, mit Wetter-
began our conversation in a very English manner, with
13 geschwätz.
small talk about the weather.
14 Verzeihung, sorry. Ich bin mit diesem whether-
Sorry, sorry. With this whether-
15 weather eigentlich recht unenglisch gewesen: I have
weather I have actually become quite un-English: I have
16 made a pun, ein Wortspiel. So etwas mag im Deutschen
made a pun, a play-on-words. In German, something like that may
17 vielleicht angängig sein, permissible, bisweilen sogar lu-
perhaps be permissible, permissible, maybe even

18 stig, amusing. In England aber findet man es zumeist
amusing, amusing. In England, however, one usually finds it
19 unerträglich, unbearable. Sollten Ihnen einmal Wort-
unbearable, unbearable. If you should be
20 witzeleien wie die meinen auf englisch serviert werden,
served up puns like mine in English,
21 dann bitte verziehen Sie den Mund, sagen Sie blasiert:
then please screw up your mouth, say in a blasé way:
22 "that's a pun",
"that's a pun"
23 und Sie werden den Leuten, sofern Ihnen daran liegt,
and you will [impress] people, provided that you set store by
24 ob Ihres ureingeborenen Englisch imponieren – you
because of your thoroughly native English - you
25 will impress people. Ja, *impress* , "imponieren", sagen
will impress people. Yes, impress, "impress",
26 Sie bloß nicht *impose* , was "aufbürden" bedeutet,
please don't say impose, which means "impose",
27 "aufdringlich sein".
"to be an imposition".
28 "What an imposition", könnten Sie zum Beispiel sa-
"What an imposition", you could say, for example,
29 gen, "was für eine Aufdringlichkeit, mir gleich mit die-
"what an imposition to burden me right away with this
30 sem *Doosie* ins Haus zu fallen."
Doosie."
31 Did you say so? Yes or no?
Did you say so? Yes or no?
32 Danke. Very sweet of you.
Thank you. Very sweet of you.
33 To summarize, zusammenfassend: Ich nenne Sie Doo-
To summarize, to summarize: I am calling you Doosie,
34 sie, liebe Doosie, weil eben auf weiteres Du-Sie. Das
dear Doosie, because until further notice you-you. The
35 englische "you" kann, wie Sie wissen, beides bedeuten,
English "you" can mean both, as you know,
36 je nach Intimitätslage, hilft uns aber im Augenblick
each according to the degree of intimacy, however, at the moment it won't get us
37 überhaupt nicht weiter, it won't get us anywhere. Wie
anywhere at all, it won't get us anywhere. How
38 viel weiß ich von Ihnen als Leser, und wieviel wis-
much do I know about you as the reader, and how much
39 sen Sie von mir als Schreiber? Nothing. Etwas elegan-
do you know about me as the author? Nothing. Somewhat more
40 ter: Nothing at all. Noch eleganter, wirkliches Englisch:
elegant: Nothing at all. Even more elegant, true English:

41 Little or nothing.
Little or nothing.
42 That reminds me. Das erinnert mich an Sir Reginald,
That reminds me. That reminds me of Sir Reginald,
43 den damaligen Botschafter in Stockholm. "Sir" kann
the then ambassador in Stockholm. "Sir" can,
44 übrigens, um hier aus Diskretionsgründen die Nation
by the way, in order to leave the nation discretely unspecified,
45 offenlassen, auch ein amerikanischer Vorname sein
also be an American first name
46 wie etwa "Duke" (Ellington), "Count" (Basie) usw.
for example, "Duke" (Ellington), "Count" (Basie) etc.
47 Anyway:
Anyway:
48 Wir reisten einmal zu dritt, Sir Reginald, Lady ***
*The three of us were traveling together, Sir Reginald, Lady****
49 (seine Frau) und ich, letzterer als eine Art secretary,
(his wife) and I, the latter as a type of secretary,
50 nach Nordnordschweden, zur midnight sun. Eine Se-
to the northernmost part of Sweden, to the midnight sun. An
51 henswürdigkeit, da die Sonne da oben zu faul ist, auf-
attraction, since up there the sun is too lazy,
52 bzw. unterzugehen, too lazy to rise and set. Und da nun
to rise and set, too lazy to rise and set. Now since
53 während dieser Mitternachtssonnenreise der gute Sir
during this journey to the midnight sun the good Sir
54 Reginald beim Sprechen nie sein Gegenüber ansah - er
Reginald never looked at the person he was talking to - he
55 war ja schließlich Diplomat -, wußte ich nie, ob sein
was, after all, a diplomat -, I never knew if his
56 "you" (z.B. "you had better go to bed now") mir oder
"you" (e.g., "you had better go to bed now")
57 seiner Frau galt, die sich überdies nach ein paar Tagen
was intended for me or his wife, who, after a few days
58 als seine Geliebte, his mistress, entpuppte: Wie die
turned out to be his mistress, his mistress: Like the
59 Sonne dort oben, standen beide schließlich überhaupt
sun up there both of them, in the end,
60 nicht mehr auf.
didn't get up any more.
61 Lektion I: "Mistress" ist *Geliebte;* aber wenn brutal
Lesson I: "Mistress" is Mistress: but when brutally
62 zu "Mrs" zusammengehauen und entsprechend schlud-
hacked down to "Mrs" and
63 rig ausgesprochen: *Ehefrau.*
pronounced in a correspondingly slapdash way: wife.

64 No, Doosie, "you" won't get us anywhere. Am lieb-
No, Doosie, "you" won't get us anywhere. Preferably -

65 sten - preferably, I'd prefer to, I'd rather, besser: I'd
- preferably, I'd prefer to, I'd rather, better: I'd

66 love to -, am allerliebsten würde ich Brüderschaft
love to -, most of all I would love to

67 mit Ihnen trinken. Aber sosehr Sie auch your fascina-
toast you. But as much as you would also like to

68 ting arm um den meinen schlingen und wir beide, both
wrap your fascinating arm around mine and both of us, both

69 of us, dabei ein Weinglas zu balancieren versuchen,
of us, would attempt to balance a wine glass,

70 so wäre eine solche Leibesübung zwar an sich auch auf
such a physical exercise would be in and of itself

71 englisch möglich, it would be possible as such, physically,
possible in English, it would be possible as such, physically,

72 aber sprachlich käme dabei kaum etwas heraus,
but linguistically little or nothing would come of it, little or

73 *nothing,* d.h. überhaupt nichts.
nothing, i.e. nothing at all.

74 Sie wissen es sicher schon selber: "Brüderschaft",
You probably know it yourself already: "Brotherhood",

75 fraternity, brotherhood, sisterhood etc., das alles ist im
fraternity, brotherhood, sisterhood etc., all of that is

76 Englischen untrinkbar, simply undrinkable. Und wie
undrinkable in English, simply undrinkable. And as

77 Sie sicher gleichfalls wissen, as you probably know as
you probably know as well, as you probably know as

78 well, geht Brüderschaft wie so vieles andere in England
well, fraternity, like so many other things in England,

79 sehr diskret vor sich - such things happen very quietly,
happens very discretely – such things happen very quietly,

80 discreetly and informally.
discretely and informally.

81 Etwa so: Man sagt "you" zueinander, bis plötzlich
Something like this: One says "you" to one another, until suddenly

82 der eine den anderen ganz lässig, fast unmerklich -
the one casually [addresses] the other, almost imperceptibly -

83 *casually* - mit dem Vornamen anredet, with his or her
casually – by his or her Christian name, with his or her

84 Christian name - oder auch, vielleicht etwas amerika-
Christian name – or also, perhaps somewhat more Ameri-

85 nischer, aber deshalb keineswegs schlechter: with his or
-can, but in no way worse: with his or

86 her first name or given name.
her first name or given name.

87 Nun weiß ich aber Ihren Vornamen nicht, Doosie, I
Now, I really don't know your first name, Doosie, I
88 have not the slightest idea. Weshalb ich Ihnen auch, to
have not the slightest idea. Which is why I will not, to
89 be fair, den meinen nicht aufdrängen-impose will; Sie
be fair, impose-impose mine on you; You
90 könnten mich etwa - das wäre übrigens sehr englisch –
could [address] me – by the way, that would be very English -
91 nur mit dem Anfangsbuchstaben meines Vornamens
simply with the initial of my first name,
92 anreden, with my initial, W. Dieses W dann aber bitte
with my initial, W. But then please [pronounce] this W
93 meinem englischen Paß zu liebe englisch aussprechen:
in English for the love of my British passport:
94 "double you", doppelt Du-Sie.
"double you", double you-you.
95 Ein Vorschlag, Doosie, a suggestion: Wir überlassen
A suggestion, Doosie, a suggestion: We shall leave
96 Einzelheiten wie Namen, Aussehen, Alter und Zivil-
details such as name, appearance, age, and marital
97 stand, derzeitigen Wohnort und dergleichen unserer bei-
status, current address and the like to our
98 derseitigen Phantasie –
respective imaginations -
99 - nein, nicht "fantasy", das klingt gekünstelt, auch
- no, not "fantasy", that sounds too artificial,
100 Langenscheidts "fancy" klappt hier nicht. Imagination,
Langenscheidt's "fancy" also doesn't work here. Imagination,
101 please.
please.

Notes

1. For example, Woodall (2002) presents a statistical analysis of L1 use in L2 writing that reinforces the deficiency view of L1 use by L2 learners.
2. All student names are reported as pseudonyms.
3. All data are reported in their original format. L2 mistakes are not corrected. Translations of the German are my own. The data were stored and coded in Ethnograph v5.04, a software program for qualitative data analysis. The document names and line numbers given here refer to the storage configurations in that program.
4. 'It doesn't make any sense to deprive the well-intentioned beginner of her 'bitte', even if one doesn't say 'please' in English in this case, but rather nothing at all.'
5. Examples 5 and 6 were originally published in Kramsch (1997, pp. 364–65) with my permission. This article is reprinted in the present volume as chapter 9.

6. The interlinear translation of Lansburgh (1977, pp. 7-9) in the appendix is my own. The translation of a multilingual text presents considerable difficulties not the least of which is the fact that the bilingual nature of the text is integral to its overall meaning; thus, a translation represents, in effect, an act of destruction. Most damaged in the translation of this excerpt are the numerous puns and plays-on-words which are made possible only by the use of two languages—in particular, the interlingual play with the initial W., its English pronunciation, the homophony of the letter's pronunciation with the English word 'you', and the two equivalents of English 'you' (e.g., 'du' and 'Sie' and thus *Doosie*) in German (lines 92–4). It should be clear that this play is enabled, not hindered, by the inter-illumination of German and English. In other words, in order for this text to work at all, one must reject the deficiency view of L1 use in L2 discourse. Despite these difficulties with translation, I present an approximation of the original text, as suggested by the editor, in order to convey its general meaning to the reader who does not speak German. I have tried as much as possible to provide an interlinear gloss, however, this attempt is exacerbated by the marked differences between German and English syntax. For example, in some cases it was necessary to place a verb (or other part of speech) in a particular line, although the verb did not occur in this line in Lansburgh's original text (e.g., lines 90–2). In other instances, I used non-standard English syntax in order to preserve the interlinear quality of the given translation (e.g., lines 52–4). The fact that Lansburgh frequently code-switches in order to repeat a phrase in the other language is evident throughout the text (e.g., lines 4–5, 7, 14, 36–7, 39–41). In my opinion, such switches reflect the intended didactic nature of the text, similar in a way to code-switching methods in place in bilingual education (e.g., Giauque and Ely 1990; Jacobson, 1990), but also serve as a source of distinction for Lansburgh's *autobiographical self* (Ivanic, 1998, pp. 24–5) in that they index the fact that his development in L2 is so advanced that he can readily provide (multiple) L1/L2 equivalents for even the most evasive L2/L1 turns of phrase.
7. Landsburgh's (1977) play with the polysemy and multifunctionality of *ob* intensifies in line 24. Here he uses it as a preposition requiring the genitive case, a few lines after he has provided a linguistic lecturette on its meaning and function as a conjunction.

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The Native/Non-native Dichotomy Debated

The Privilege of the Nonnative Speaker

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The study of foreign languages and literatures is predicated, explicitly or implicitly, on the notion of the native speaker. In language pedagogy, the premium put on spoken communicative competence since the 1970s has endowed native speakers with a prestige they did not necessarily have in the 1950s and 1960s, when the grammar-translation and then the audiolingual methods of language teaching prevailed; today foreign language students are expected to emulate the communicative skills of native speakers. Because American foreign language departments have always defined themselves against English departments by studying non-English languages and literatures (see Daniel and Peck 14), within the humanities native speakers of foreign tongues enjoy a de facto authority and prestige that the nonnative lacks. Literature students are usually assumed to be better readers of a foreign literature if they have a native command of its language; scholars specializing in their native languages often have an advantage on the job market over their nonnative colleagues. Foreign language study acquires credibility and legitimation from being backed by national communities of native speakers, who set the standards for the use of their national languages and often for the reading of their national literatures.

Despite the spread of postmodern thought in the humanities and in many branches of linguistics and anthropology (Duranti and Goodwin; Gumperz and Levinson), this idealization of the native speaker has not been put into question. But native speakers do not always speak according to the rules of their standard national languages; they display regional, occupational, generational, class-related ways of talking that render the notion of a unitary native speaker artificial. Moreover, whereas students can become competent in a new language, they can never become native speakers of it. Why should they disregard their unique multilingual perspective on the foreign language and on its literature and culture to emulate the idealized monolingual native speaker? Such a question goes against the grain of received knowledge in foreign language study, because language has traditionally been seen as a standardized system, not as a social and cultural practice. Viewing language as a practice may lead to a rethinking of the subject position of foreign language learners and foreign readers of national literatures—in particular, to a discovery of how learners construct for themselves a linguistic and social identity that enables them to resolve the anomalies and contradictions they are likely to encounter when attempting to adopt someone else's language.

At a training seminar conducted in 1993 in Leipzig for teachers of French, German, and English from the United States, France, and Germany, a French participant suggested that her American and German colleagues use a 1992 advertisement from the Bon Marché Rive Gauche, and a fashionable Paris department store, to teach French in their countries.[1] Above an aristocratic-looking woman holding a credit card, a caption reads, "Rive Gauche, il existe encore des privilèges que nul ne souhaite abolir" 'On the Left Bank, there are still some privileges that no one wants to abolish.'[2] For any native speaker of French, the ad contains a clear allusion to the night of 4 August 1789, when the nobility abolished its birthrights on the altar of the Revolution. The ad even borrows the words that authors of French history textbooks typically use for the event: *l'abolition des privilèges.* In addition, the mention of the Left Bank of the Seine evokes for a French native speaker the demonstrations for social justice in May 1968 and other fights for civil rights. In this ad, however, birth privileges and civil rights have been replaced by the prerogative (Lat. *præogare* 'to ask before another') of the credit card. The teacher who proposed the ad suggested that it be presented in class with a one-franc coin bearing the inscription *Liberté, égalité, fraternité,* in a juxtaposition illustrating how historical myth and historical reality can coexist in present-day France. Birth privileges, she said, might have been abolished in 1789, but today France still has a class system, and membership in the upper class can only be acquired through birth. Equality in the motto, inequality in the facts.

However, the nonnative teachers of French in the United States and Germany had different interpretations of what *privilèges* are. For the Americans, your privileges are defined simply by your credit line. Privileges have nothing to do with birth. They are the prerogatives that come with card-bearing membership in a community of consumers. By contrast, the West German colleagues rephrased the ad as an equal-opportunity issue: privileges, they said, are what you acquire through meritorious work, your just reward for your services in a *Leistungsgesellschaft*, or performance-oriented society. If you can afford to buy things at the Bon Marchè, it is because you have served well and therefore "de-serve" them. Neither birth nor money but merit is the right basis of entitlement.

The interpretations of those American and West German readers were not wrong. All three meanings are potentially enclosed in the French ad. The Bon Marchè offers its customers the birth privileges of the elite by alluding to the night of 4 August; through the Bon Marchè credit card, it grants them the prerogatives of modern-day consumer–society members; and by evoking the Rive Gauche, it reminds them of the social rights gained through revolutions.[3] The polysemy of the ad allows it to be read and understood by multiple audiences, who may see in it what they please. What is interesting is not whether the nonnative speakers of French were right or wrong in giving readings of the ad that differed from those of educated native speakers but rather how the Americans and Germans differently positioned themselves in relation to the ad and to each other and how they thereby repositioned the ideal native reader. Moreover, French speakers resonate differently to the ad's multiplicity of meaning, according to their occupation, level of education, sex, ethnic origin, and age. A North African or a Portuguese immigrant living in France might not resonate to the glorification of French history in the ad and might not even feel addressed by the somewhat formal caption.

If the ad is used to teach French around the world, the diversity of potential readings will increase. Native and nonnative speakers will find in it different confirmations of their worldviews and different definitions of privilege, right, and prerogative. Familiar with the genre of the publicity poster, the American teachers at the Leipzig seminar felt that they understood this advertisement perfectly and that it was just another sales pitch for a piece of plastic. The East German teachers, by contrast, drew partly on the pre-1989 party-line cultural schemata of the GDR, which had inculcated such mottos as *Ich leiste was, ich leiste mir was* 'I produce, therefore I can afford to buy,' also on display in public places, and partly on early socialist revolutionary notions of equality as a humanitarian ideal. The party-line response led the East Germans to feel affinity with their West German counterparts, while the egalitarian reading aligned them with the French.

Given the multiplicity of possible readings of this ad, can one still speak of a canonical native speaker addressee? In the last ten years linguists have started to examine this construct critically, beginning with Thomas Paikeday in his 1985 book *The Native Speaker Is Dead!*[4] In interviews with Paikeday, over forty linguists, including Noam Chomsky, systematically scrutinize the usual definition of the native speaker of a language as someone who has an intuitive sense of what is grammatical and ungrammatical in the language. Paikeday concludes that the " 'native speaker' in the linguist's sense of arbiter of grammaticality and acceptability of language . . . represents an ideal, a convenient fiction, or a shibboleth rather than a reality like Dick or Jane" (x). Because no publisher wanted to touch such a controversial book, Paikeday had to publish it himself, and linguists and educators circulated it under the table. For in language pedagogy the linguistic authority of the native speaker, derived from that of Chomsky's "ideal speaker-listener" (3), had been extended beyond grammar to include social behavior and cultural knowledge as well. Where would teachers and learners take their models from if there was no such thing as a native speaker? National identity was at stake, and so was the communicative approach to teaching foreign languages, which is based on the social and cultural authenticity of native nationals. Since 1985, however, the sociocultural turn in second-language-acquisition research and the growing number of multilingual, multicultural speakers around the world have continued to raise doubts about the validity of the native speaker model for foreign language study.

Originally, native speakership was viewed as an uncontroversial privilege of birth. Those who were born into a language were considered its native speakers, with grammatical intuitions that nonnative speakers did not have. For example, the ability to understand *nul . . . ne* in the Bon Marché ad as a negation, not a self-canceling double negative, would have been seen as requiring nativelike grammatical intuition. But such an ability alone does not let one pass for a native speaker. As Bourdieu remarks, "Social acceptability cannot be reduced to grammaticality alone" (43). The ad expects its readers to appreciate the rather uppity register of the caption, to find provocative the juxtaposition of a royalist initial *R* and the democratic typeface of the rest of the sentence, to recognize the allusions to the French Revolution—in short, to have been raised and educated in a certain French society. So it may be indeed that native speakers are made rather than born.

Defining native speakership as the result of a particular education transforms it from a privilege of birth to one of education. Education bestows the privilege of being not only a native speaker but a middle-class, mainstream native speaker. For native speakers have internalized the values, beliefs, myths of the dominant ideologies propagated by schools and other educational institutions. That's why native speakers with left-wing convictions, like the French teachers at this seminar, are sometimes ambivalent toward, even shocked by, the advertising in their societies. Nonnative speakers and native speakers who hold other political convictions might not have the same response.

But is this really so? An immigrant from Ivory Coast raised in France and educated in the French school system is likely to understand the social connotations of this ad perfectly well but might not be recognized as a native speaker of French. Native speakership, I suspect, is more than a privilege of birth or even of education. It is acceptance by the group that created the distinction between native and nonnative speakers.[5] The Belgian linguist René Coppieters, studying perceived differences in the competence of native and near-native speakers of French, concludes that "a speaker of French is someone who is *accepted as such by the community* referred to as that of French speakers, not someone who is endowed with a specific formal underlying linguistic system" (565). It is not enough to have intuitions about grammaticality and linguistic acceptability and to communicate fluently and with full competence; one must also be recognized as a native speaker by the relevant speech community.

The only speech community traditionally recognized by foreign language departments has been the middle-class, ethnically dominant male citizenry of nation-states, as Mary-Louise Pratt argues. The native speaker is in fact an imaginary construct—a canonically literate monolingual middle-class member of a largely fictional national community whose citizens share a belief in a common history and a common destiny, such as the belief reinforced by the Bon Marchè Rive Gauche ad. And this ideal corresponds less and less to reality.[6] Most people in the world belong to more than one discourse community, as François Grosjean remarks in *Life with Two Languages*. They know and use the languages of the home and of the school, of the coworkers and of the foreign spouse, of the immigrant colleague and of the foreign business partner, and pick up languages through travel, displacement, migration, upward and lateral mobility—so many registers, dialects, sociolects, styles, and codes, half mastered through practice, half inculcated through schooling, refracting one another in use, woven into dominant tongues, sowing seeds of interpersonal divergence or convergence, of social solidarity or dissidence. The view of the foreign language learner as a nicely bounded blank slate on which the language is inscribed, pattern drill after pattern drill, communicative exercise after communicative exercise, is a "linguistic utopia," to adopt Pratt's phrase, or a colonist's dream.

It has generally been assumed that the main motivation for learning a foreign language is to become one of "them." But more often than not, insiders do not want outsiders to become one of them (as learners of Japanese have often experienced), and even if given the choice most language learners would not want to become one of them. The pleasure of annexing a foreign language does not primarily consist in identifying with flesh-and-blood native-speaking nationals. It derives rather from the unique personal experience of incarnating oneself in another, which our students know how to put into words, as this excerpt from the journal of a third-year Anglo-American woman student of German indicates.

> "Also" ist ein Wort ["*Also* is a word"], that I'd really love to use in English, but niemand versteht mich, wenn ich's nutze ["nobody would understand me if I used it"]. I suppose I could explain it to my friends, "Ja, also" ["Yeah, well"]. No I don't mean also as in "in addition to," nee, das wäre's nicht. Ich meine, tja, einfach "Also" . . . Allllso. Aber mit "Also" stürzt die Bedeutung sofort ab, senn ["No, that's not it. I mean, hm, simple *also* . . . *allllso*. But with *also* the meaning (of the word) collapses immediately if"] the person I'm talking to can't speak German. Iche meine, I think, die Bedeutung lebt in der Zunge, im Mund ["I mean, I think, the meaning resides in the tongue, in the mouth"], how can I explain this? The meaning of *also* lies in the way that the tongue reaches up for the roof of the mouth und dann bleibt's da, und die Bedeutung liegt darin, wie lange man die Zunge da oben lässt. Es ist ein besonderer Ton, "Allllso," im Vergleich mit" "Also" ["and then it stays there, and the meaning lies precisely in the length of time one keeps the tongue up there. It is a special sound, *allllso*, as contrasted with *also*"]. Which sounds more like Ah-so, which is what I thought it was after my first trip to Germany. Which is probably why the word was so wunderbar, nachdem ich's wirklich aussprechen konnte. Nachdem ich einen richtigen Grund dafür hatte. Also ["wonderful after I was able to pronounce it properly. After I had a real purpose for doing so. *Also*"].
>
> "Naja" ist natürlich ["*Naja* is of course"] an essay all unto itself. This is a word all languages need. And ich meine, nur ein Wort, das mit der Betonung alles erzählt ["I mean, it is a word that says it all in the way you say it"]. Naja. It's so much better than Oh well . . . oder ["or"], yeahhh. Naja. It has an identifiable start and end, da kannst du dich wirklich ausdrücken mit diesem Wort ["you can really express yourself with that word"].[7]

The code switching in this journal entry suggests the often untapped resources of language learners, who take intense physical pleasure in acquiring a language, thrill in trespassing someone else's territory, becoming a foreigner on their own turf, becoming both invisible and differently visible.[8] This student gives aesthetic, expressive value to words that are usually viewed as having a purely pragmatic, communicative function. Her pleasure comes not so much from the interactional payoff that the words might yield (e.g., by permitting her to hold or take the floor) as from their ontological, subjective resonances. This nonnative speaker is slipping into someone else's place and feels enabled to express herself ("sich wirklich ausdrüken") from that position. Theatrical performance, ventriloquism, ritualization, stylization, heteroglossia, even glossolalia, come to mind—and only accessorily communicative efficiency.

Such a testimony seems to contradict Wittgenstein's claim that the limits of our language are the limits of our world (115). By appropriating the language of others, multilingual speakers create new discourse communities whose aerial existence monolingual speakers hardly suspect. Novelists and poets have often used language crossings to represent the subject positions of their characters or to configurate new realms of experience—for instance, by stereotyping foreign characters in novels. In Umberto Eco's *L'isola del giorno prima* (*The Island of the Day Before*), the German scientist Father Caspar exclaims:

> "Oh mein Gott, il Signore mi perdona che il Suo Santissimo Nome invano ho pronunziato. Im primis, ropo che Salomone il Tempio costruito aveva, aveva fatto una grosse flotte, come dice il Libro dei Re, e questa flotte arriva all'Isola di Ophir, da dove gli riportano (come dici tu?)...quadringenti un viginti..."
>
> "Quattrocentoventi." (235)
>
> *Oh mein Gott*, the Lord forgive I take His Most Holy Name in vain. *In primis*, after Solomon the Temple had constructed, he made a *grosse flotte*, as the Book of Kings says, and this *flotte* arrives at the Island of Ophir, from where they bring him—how do you say?—*quadringenti und viginti*."
>
> "Four hundred twenty."

Father Caspar is supposed to be a quintessential German scientist, his Italian replete with inverted verb constructions, stereotypical exclamations, and German and Latin words.

While the intrusion of one tongue into another serves in Eco's text to feature the oddity of foreignness, other novelists have used multilingualism to grant their characters a freedom of expression unavailable to monolingual speakers. A famous example is the nine-page alternation between German and French in the central chapter of Thomas Mann's *Der Zauberberg* (*The Magic Mountain*), where in the rarefied air of a Swiss sanatorium on carnival night, the German engineer Hans Castorp declares his love to the Russian émigré Clawdia Chauchat in French. After a particularly daring declaration by Castrop, rendered even more intimate by his use of the second-person singular pronoun—"J'aimerais beaucoup être portraitiste, moi aussi, pour avoir l'occasion d'étudier ta peau comme liu" 'I would very much like to be a portrait painter too, to have the opportunity to study your skin as he does'—Madame Chauchat protests, "Parlez allemand, s'il vous plaît!" 'Speak German, please!,' accepting his use of French by replying in that language but insisting on the pronominal distance required by the social conventions of this German-speaking sanatorium. Castrop retorts, "Oh, ich spreche Deutsch, auch auf französisch . . ." 'Oh, I speak German even [when I speak] French,' and later he gives Madame Chauchat a justification of his use of French that every nonnative speaker would easily recognize:

> Avec toi je préfère cette langue à la mienne, car pour moi, parler français, c'est parler sans parler, en quelque manière—sans responsabilité, ou comme nous parlons en rêve. Tu comprends? (308–09)
>
> With you, I prefer this language to mine, because for me, to speak in French is to speak without speaking, in a sense—without responsibility, as we speak in a dream. Do you understand?

If Eco enlists a foreign language to mark a character's group or ethnic identity and Mann to give a character an alternative identity, poets sometimes use code switching to represent or symbolically evoke the fleeting intermingling of two incommensurable identities. Jean Giraudox's *Ondine*, written in 1939, the year war broke out between France and Germany, and adapted from a novel by the German Romantic writer Friedrich La Motte-Fouqué, features the love of the mermaid Ondine for a German aristocrat, Hans. It is said that during the dress rehearsal Giraudoux had to hold back his tears at the thought of another war between the two countries. His irreconcilable loves are expressed in a poem with alternating lines in French and German, recited by one of Ondine's sisters:

Hans Wittenstein zu Wittenstein,
Sans toi la vie est un trépas.
Alles was ist dein ist mein.
Aime-moi. Ne me quitte pas... (65)

Hans Wittenstein zu Wittenstein,
Without you life is death.
All that is mine is yours.
Love me. Do not leave me.

The poem attempts to hold back the march of history by having the French-speaking mermaid appropriate her German lover's language to express her love. The third line, which in German would normally read, "Alles, was dein ist, ist mein," has French syntax, and the octosyllabic French lines, through their proximity with the German, take on the rhythm of German verse, the alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables. The emotional value of this language crossing is linked to the French playwright's position on the eve of World War II.

German acquires a different connotation at the close of World War I when T. S. Eliot juxtaposes it to English in *The Waste Land*:

> I will show you something different from either
> Your shadow at morning striding behind you
> Or your shadow at evening rising to meet you;
> I will show you fear in a handful of dust.
> *Frisch weht der Wind*
> *Der Heimat zu.*
> *Mein irisch Kind,*
> *Wo weilest du?* (52)
>
> Cool blows the wind
> Homeward bound.
> My Irish child,
> Where is your home?

The German text, the opening lines of Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*, is not totally extraneous following the foreboding English passage. The prosodic features of English and German are carefully stitched together: voiceless consonants are echoed from one language to the other (dus*t*, Win*d*, Kin*d*), English voiceless *f* (*f*ear, hand*f*ul) is metamorphosed into German voiced *w* (*w*eht der *W*ind), the letter *i* is visually replicated in the two languages (str*i*ding, r*i*sing, fr*i*sch, W*i*nd, *i*risch, K*i*nd), the English sound *i* (str*i*ding, *ei*ther) is repeated in the German *ei* (H*ei*mat, w*ei*lest), the old trochaic rhythm of the German suggests a barcarole or lullaby after the more grandiloquent anapestic rhythm of the English—all these stylistic transgressions and prosodic transmutations form a tightly knit poetic tapestry. The pain evoked by one language (the fear of death in the memory of a war that pitted English speakers against German) is soothed by the other (in Tristan and Isolde's longing for love and death). The combination of the two codes expresses a tragic mixture of sweetness and sadness.

The richness of these uses of linguistic foreignness should provoke a rethinking of current language-teaching practices. Attempts have been made to expose students to the linguistic, social, and cultural diversity of those who claim to speak the same language—for example, Francophones in different parts of the world. But it is time to exploit the linguistic diversity that students bring to language learning. Without losing the benefits of communicative approaches in language pedagogy, teachers may want to validate once again the poetic function of language, the physical pleasure of memorizing and performing prose and verse, of playing with language and writing multilingual poetry at the beginning of language instruction. In advanced study, teachers may want to legitimize once again exercises in translation and in comparative stylistics. Such attempts would enable learners not only to express others' linguistic and cultural meanings but to find new ways of expressing their own as well.

Users of tongues other than their own can reveal unexpected ways of dealing with the cross-cultural clashes they encounter as they migrate between languages. Their appropriation of foreign languages enables them to construct linguistic and cultural identities in the interstices of national languages and on the margins of monolingual speakers' territories. Seen from the perspective of linguistic travel and migration rather than from that of the traditional sedentary, bounded opposition native/nonnative, the notion of native speakership loses its power and significance. Far more interesting are the multiple possibilities for self-expression in language. In that regard, everyone is potentially, to a greater or lesser extent, a nonnative speaker, and that position is a privilege.

Notes

1. I describe this seminar in greater detail in "Dialogic Analysis."

2. All translations are mine.

3. This ad appeared in the Paris Métro as a poster with varying captions that all made the same ambiguous references to the pre-1789 aristocracy, to 1968 civil rights demonstrations, and to 1992 commercial practices and that thus constructed in the French cultural imagination a historical continuity between birth privileges and consumer prerogatives.

4. See also Quirk and Widdowson; Kachru; Davies. For some other attempts to problematize the notion of the native speaker in language teaching, see my "In Another Tongue," *Context*, "Stylistic Choice," and "Wem gehört die deutsche Sprache?"; Blyth; Rampton; Widdowson.

5. Speakers with nonstandard accents and speakers of local varieties of the standard language are placed below the top of the hierarchy of social acceptability. The arbitrary designation of native speakers can be seen anytime a national linguistic standard is artificially imposed on local varieties, as Parisian French was during the French Revolution. By eradicating the local dialects, or *patois*, and imposing the language of the Parisian bourgeoisie on the rest of the population, the revolutionary government constructed the notion of the French native speaker and bequeathed it to the rest of the world. As a saying variously attributed to Otto Jespersen and Max Weinreich goes, "A language is a dialect with an army and a navy."

6. Chomsky seems to conceive his "ideal speaker-listener" as a monolingual individual whose intuitions perfectly match the expectations of one homogeneous standard community. Such a standard community is increasingly difficult to find in multiethnic industrialized urban societies.

7. I am grateful to Julie Belz (Univ. of California, Berkeley) for allowing me to use this text, which she collected for her project Multilingual Texts in Advanced Language Study, under a grant from the Berkeley Language Center.

8. Autobiographers, novelists, poets, and psychoanalysts have vividly captured these experiences. See, for example, Kaplan; Canetti; Joseph Breuer and Sigmund Freud's diagnosis of Bertha Pappenheim (Anna O.), qtd. in von Hoene. See also Sebbar and Huston, an insightful exchange of letters between two women writers "exiled" in the French language.

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Privilege of the Nonnative Speaker Meets Practical Needs of the Language Teacher

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One of the principal roles that applied linguists often assume is that of intermediary between the worlds of the second language acquisition theorist-researcher and the second/foreign language teacher-practitioner. The applied linguist takes concepts and discoveries concerning language and language acquisition and helps practitioners apply them to classroom-based language teaching. The mediation between these two worlds is a complex affair; issues raised by theorists may be interesting and thought-provoking, but often fail to respond to the practical needs of language teachers. The issues raised by Kramsch are a case in point, and we examine some of them here.

First, *if the native speaker is not to be considered the model for learners to emulate, then who should provide that linguistic model?* We agree with Kramsch that there is no single standard of native-speaker language to target, since the cultural and linguistic reality of a given language is far too complex and multi-faceted for us to identify or characterize a "target language norm" and an "ideal native speaker." The notion that most nonnative learners can one day become "native-like" if they keep studying and practicing is at best naïve and at worst narrow-minded, because there is no single standard of native-speaker language towards which to strive.

But if one follows this line of thinking, then the teachers and learners of a foreign language are left (1) without a target language norm, and (2) with an unrealizable dream of becoming native-like speakers. These two notions render any efforts in the FL classroom unproductive and meaningless. Without a native-speaker norm to teach to, the task of teaching and learning the L2 is unmanageable. To grasp the FL in all its complexity is problematic, perhaps impossibly so, for students with a limited command of the linguistic code. For example, Kramsch's analysis of the "Bon Marché" advertisement through multiple readings is not something that can be fully appreciated in the absence of adequate linguistic knowledge. The multiple readings would be best addressed slowly as learners increase their experiences with the target language and culture, so that the multi-faceted aspects of a text are not overwhelming.

Kramsch raises the need to acknowledge various speech communities and to understand that the "native speakers" of those communities are those recognized as such by other community members. We agree that learners should understand that language standards are multiple, not monolithic. We differ from Kramsch, however, in how this knowledge might best intersect with a basic knowledge of the language. If one is to teach the FL using these various speech communities as a base, several problems arise. For example, in the case of Spanish, the language is undergoing rapid change world-wide, especially in border regions like the southwestern U.S. As researchers such as Sánchez (1994), Silva-Corvalán (1994), and Valdés (2000) have shown, this particular speech community represents a continuum of language change that is fraught with contradictions and complexities. Some members, even among the younger generations, claim to be native Spanish speakers, yet outside the U.S. they would rarely be recognized as such. Consequently, their language norms are not legitimized as the standard norm or recognized as having any status at all outside their own speech community. Even more problematic, these speakers represent the speech community with which most of the nonnative learners, at least in certain regions of the U.S., will probably come most frequently into contact.

Second, *if there are multiple interpretations of a given text or body of discourse, to what extent does the teacher allow interpretations outside of those recognized by the target speech community at large? How can a learner, who lacks the same background knowledge and experiences of the native-speaker discourse community, reach the understanding intended by the speaker/writer for the native-speaker audience?* Kramsch attacks the notion of a monolithic identity of the target culture but fails to recognize that the FL learner discourse community is also multiplex, with each learner bringing both common and different experiences and background knowledge to the learning context. Their experiences and knowledge will undoubtedly lead them to interpretations that stray from those understood by native speakers. Kramsch implies that teachers should acknowledge learners' language and their interpretations of FL discourse, but she offers no suggestions as to how the teachers might proceed in filling in the cultural and experiential gap to reach FL perspectives, especially if the teacher is to present multiple FL perspectives.

Third, *Kramsch proposes that teachers teach the language as a social and cultural practice. But how does a teacher do this? What do these terms mean in concrete classroom practice?* The author states that "language has traditionally been seen as a standardized system, not as a social and cultural practice. Viewing language as a practice may lead to a rethinking . . . a discovery of how learners construct for themselves a linguistic and social identity that enables them to resolve the anomalies and contradictions they are likely to encounter when attempting to adopt someone else's language" (p. 360).

The only concrete pedagogical suggestions Kramsch offers are those of "memorizing and performing prose and verse, of playing with language and writing multilingual poetry at the beginning of language instruction" and, for the more advanced learners, "exercises in translation and in comparative stylistics" (p. 368). One cannot argue with the value of encouraging learners to discover for themselves the enjoyment of creating nuanced meaning in another language and working toward the construction of a new identity in the target language and culture. The teacher, however, is still left with the question of how to lead learners to work with the language as a social and cultural practice, especially in the absence of an authentic interaction with native speakers in the target culture environment.

Finally, *Kramsch's closing paragraph lauding the "multiple possibilities for self-expression in language" (p. 368) brings us back full circle to the first question posed in this reply.* Her goal is to elevate the status and contributory potential of nonnative learners in the learning process so that they are not depicted as passive beings who, *tabula rasa*, wait to be provided with correct answers that they will then commit to memory. Although this point is laudable, it invokes a model that is egocentric rather than focused on working toward a mastery and deeper understanding of the FL and culture. Thus, learners should forego the notion of working to become as proficient as possible in the foreign language according to some kind of recognized norm, and rely on the teacher to provide the norm and the activities that will lead them to discover a new linguistic and cultural identity "on the margins of monolingual speakers' territories" (p. 368). They must depend on their own learners' discourse community that will somehow generate the kinds of interactions that will lead them to this mastery and understanding of the FL and culture. That this discourse community could be called such is questionable since its members probably do not have shared intuitions about the FL. But Kramsch proposes that it can provide the backdrop for learning the FL as a social and cultural practice. If this approach to learning a FL is truly functional and effective, then one wonders how learners are to develop an integrative motivation to appropriate the FL and its culture as part of their own identities.

We await Kramsch's responses to these questions.

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Prescriptivism, Linguistic Variation, and the So-called Privilege of the Nonnative Speaker

* * *

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In her essay on the demise of the notion of the idealized native speaker as the model for second language learning, Kramsch suggests a number of intriguing implications for second languages and cultures education. Given my own background as a linguist and applied linguist working in the field of French, I will focus my remarks primarily on the more properly linguistic aspects of the questions raised.

Despite its inconsistency with recent developments in the humanities and disciplines such as linguistics and anthropology, Kramsch states that "this idealization of the native speaker has not been put into question" (p. 359), largely, according to Kramsch, "because language has traditionally been seen as a standardized system, not as a social and cultural practice" (p. 360). Kramsch sees the holding up of the native speaker model as a cornerstone of communicative approaches to language pedagogy (p. 367) and apparently, also, of an insistence on exclusive use of the target language and concomitant rejection of the use of translation or comparative stylistics (p. 368).

I am not entirely convinced that the elevation of the native speaker model ever was, or is, as real or as pervasive a problem as Kramsch suggests. True, the placing of the so-called educated native speaker at the top of the proficiency yardstick provided by the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines meant that the concept had a certain place in the rhetoric of proficiency-oriented instruction, as well as in the critiques of the latter, or particularly of this evaluation metric. As Kramsch herself would no doubt agree, the nature of the concept of the native speaker model was primarily that of a theoretical or ideological axiom. Though as such it may have had certain consequences for the practice of teachers, the model itself has never existed in any real form, since the concept represents an idealization, unrealizable by its very nature.

Kramsch acknowledges the falsity of the native speaker model by alluding to some of the various kinds of variation that constitute departures from the standard national languages and thus "render the notion of a unitary native speaker artificial" (p. 359). Anyone who has worked in textbook writing and had to deal with the editing done by multiple native speaker readers knows very well that there are many questions on which there is not just one native speaker judgment. (Perhaps one particularly appropriate audience for Kramsch's essay would be the linguistically naïve textbook editors who insist on regarding the native speaker opinion as the last word on the subject.)

If the native speaker norm is a fiction, where *do* we get the linguistic code we teach? One could certainly speak of the grammatical canon, that is, that set of lexical and grammatical items that, like their counterparts of the literary canon, have been transmitted to us and sanctified for us by tradition. And what is the origin of that tradition? While this would be the subject of interesting research, one could expect to find close ties between the second-language pedagogical grammatical tradition and the national norms of the 'home country', though these two are of course not identical.

I can only speak with respect to the field of French language instruction, but in this case at least, the canon of the grammatical tradition has maintained a very strong hold on the field, and this despite numerous calls from some members of the field to adapt instruction to the realities of the spoken language.[1] I see these latter efforts not only as attempting to make the actual object of study more consistent with the professed object of study, namely the spoken language, but also as seeking to modify the grammatical canon to make it more closely conform to actual native-speaker discourse, with its inherent variation. Thus, in this case, recourse to the native speaker model can be credited with positive effects, in part because the notion of native speaker was not divorced from the reality of variation.

Kramsch points out that even in linguistics, the source of the native speaker idealization, this notion has generally been discredited. The gradual recognition of the problems inherent in this notion has been accompanied by a change in beliefs about research methods within linguistics. The rise of corpus linguistics, making use of computerized analysis of large textual databases, has brought about a fairly general acknowledgment that native-speaker judgments need to be supplemented by real language data in the form of corpora, which can provide information and insights not afforded by informant judgments alone.[2]

Interestingly, corpus linguistics has spawned a pedagogical application, referred to by some as data-driven learning, or simply learning with corpora, that involves learners in discovering for themselves patterns of language use, as revealed by concordances based on searches of selected corpora.[3] Alternatively, such concordances can be used by instructors for the preparation of teaching materials. The ready availability of electronic texts and search engines suggests that this approach offers a useful alternative to the defunct native speaker model as well as to the unadulterated grammatical canon; it is an approach which has been applied fairly extensively in the field of ESL instruction, and to some extent in the European foreign-language context.[4] I myself am currently engaged in something of an experiment with an advanced grammar class where students are required to use concordances to study certain points of grammar or vocabulary. I have also recommended to colleagues the easily accessed reference provided by a search of http://fr.yahoo.com/ to answer simple questions of usage. Whether this means of tapping the wealth of available linguistic data will actually be exploited to enrich our teaching in any significant way remains to be seen.

It seems to me that our profession is somewhat schizophrenic when it comes to the question of openness to linguistic and cultural diversity within the worlds associated with the language we teach. At a time when Francophone cultures and literatures outside of France represent the most sought-after sub-field for postsecondary positions, I'm rather certain that a colleague of mine who recently voiced some apprehension about a prospective TA with a Québécois accent is not alone in his concern. Somehow, studying the literature of the culture (most often in print form, of course!) is a quite different proposition from placing a speaker with a regional dialect in front of a beginning-level class as a model.[5] And is this same bias not partly to blame for the gross underutilization of Quebec as a resource for study abroad?

It appears that our Spanish-language colleagues are a bit further along in embracing linguistic diversity; no doubt the difference lies in part in the pervasiveness of the extremely strong influence of the prescriptive norm, embodied in the Académie Française, which has characterized the French culture for the last five centuries, and which we French teachers, even in America, have inherited. At times, we are even stronger defenders of the norm than the French themselves, as when we insist on not allowing the use of French cognates which formerly differed in meaning but now have added the English meaning to their set of possible meanings (e.g. *réaliser* in the sense of 'to become aware of', rather than 'to make real').[6] Apparently this tendency to be a more severe critic than the native speakers of the language taught is something of a universal among language teachers. Lewis reports this result in a summary of several native speaker error-reaction studies in

English (p. 170), where he notes that native speakers (both teachers and non-teachers) base their assessment of the seriousness of an error almost solely on the degree of comprehensibility of the utterance. Nonnative teachers, on the other hand, almost always use a very different criterion, one related to the 'basicness' of the error (p. 170).

Kramsch's essay emphasizes the validation of the diverse sociocultural perspectives offered by nonnative speakers, as well as the esthetic pleasures offered by linguistic foreignness, apart from its communicative utility. The logical extension of this validation of nonnative perspectives, on the strictly linguistic level, challenges us to reconsider our notions of error and correctness, a challenge already put to us for some time now by proponents of communicative approaches to language teaching, but on which there is rather little consensus in the field today. Lewis makes the point rather provocatively in the following passage:

> ... Language changes, and is used creatively. ... Gifted speakers often bend and break the language into new meanings, creating according to need. There seems no logical reason why this creativity is the prerogative of native speakers, or even advanced learners. Which users of English have the right to use it creatively? Native speakers? Native speakers of British English? American English? Indian English? German English? No one wishes to lapse into Babel, but it is cultural and intellectual imperialism to impose a particular norm on anyone's use of English. Creative use, which communicates meaning, is clever and commendable whenever meaning is successfully communicated. Looking for error—deviation from some non-existent idealized norm—is a perverse way to look at language. For all that, it is and will doubtless remain, characteristic of language teaching (pp. 173-174)

The same argument applies just as well to French, German, Spanish, or any other language. I share Lewis' lack of optimism about the prospects for change, and I must confess that this is something I struggle with on a personal level. But just maybe some personal reflection and collective discussion around the challenges issued by Kramsch and by Lewis will make some small differences in our practice.

Notes

1. See, for example, Joseph, Walz, O'Connor DiVito, Blyth. Valdman (1988) argues for the use of pedagogical norms which take into account not only native-speaker norms but sociolinguistic and pedagogical considerations as well. See Arteaga and Herschensohn for an interesting response to Joseph, plus arguments in favor of introducing a historical dimension to language instruction.

2. McEnery and Wilson, pp. 1–25.
3. See Johns, Aston, Blyth.
4. See the "Grammar Safari" website, Aston, and Wichmann et al for examples or descriptions of various applications.
5. Shelly discusses some of these issues, but appears to assume that the model provided by beginning-level instructors will correspond to the standard. This is often not the case in large university settings, where graduate student instructors may often come from non-European Francophone countries.
6. See Rifelj for a study of some of these semantic anglicisms.

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Privilege (or *Noblesse Oblige*) of the Nonnative Speaker of Russian

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In his 1885 essay, Leo Tolstoy poses the moral and ethical question to his Russian readership: "How much land does a person need?" For the purposes of responding to Kramsch's "The Privilege of the Non-Native Speaker," I would recast this question as "How Much Russian Does an American Learner Need?" In both instances the answer to each question rests with the goals of the individual being asked. Ultimately, Kramsch's proposition is good news for students of foreign languages, and especially of the so-called less commonly taught languages (LCTLs).

In the area of Russian language education in the US, there is no question that the target audience of instruction as evidenced by the limited textbooks available until the 1980s was primarily the student-philologist: the language and literature specialist in training. That is, the student of Russian in the 1960s and 1970s was presumed to be a future teacher of the language and/or literature. Thus the content of instruction was narrowly proscribed vocabulary and grammar that would be used primarily in academic settings. Texts, reading and exercise materials were centered on academic environments and high culture artifacts and behaviors. Brecht (1995) documents a noticeable shift away from the language-specialist mission that was borne from the Sputnik generation of the 1950s and continued through the 1970s towards an applied-language mission: students who intend to use the language in one or another context. So prevalent was this assumption of a "universal" student of Russian that the best selling textbook for most of the 1970s and 1980s in the U.S. was titled *Russian for Everybody* (Kostomarov 1988). This text package consisted of a unified program of instruction in Russian with commentaries in German, English, French and Spanish. No specific recommendations for individual languages or learners were provided and the underlying assumption was that all students of Russian needed the same type of instruction. But as the insularity of the Soviet Union began to soften in the mid-1980s and more and more students of Russian began to travel to and study in country, these notions of "one learner/one native speaker" quickly came into question.

The issues raised in Kramsch's provocative piece begin with the very notion of what a native speaker is. Kramsch correctly asserts that native speakership is not merely a birthright. The factors of social class and consequently education of the speaker condition the language of the "native" speaker. Indeed, both the FSI/ILR and ACTFL guidelines have, in many ways, confounded the issue of what is a reasonable goal of foreign language study for an American student—especially in the LCTLs. Given that the upper scales describe not only a native speaker but a "fully educated" native speaker, should this be a goal for our students of Russian? Indeed, by such a definition a sizeable percentage of many populations would not be "5" or "Distinguished" level speakers of their birth language. In the United States, for example, there are many areas in which Pratt's (1987) definition of "language" is *not* the norm (e.g., international border areas, rural communities, etc.). In such cases, many native-born U.S. citizens would not rate high on the FSI/IRL scale, given the grammaticality and lexical choices in their "native" language. As a case in point, my own parents, Mexican Americans born in south Texas, spoke both English and Spanish at home. However, neither was a "5" in either language due to limitations in their education and the particular idiolects of both languages. Yet they were unquestionably native speakers of both languages. Would their languages be inappropriate sources for students of English or Spanish? Not at all, if the students were planning to work or study near the Texas-Mexican border or read literature of excellent border writers such as Laura Esquivel or Luis Valdéz. Only recently, though, have Spanish language textbooks in this country begun to include what was routinely referred to as "substandard" variants of the language in their presentations of readings and other texts for study. While the notion that there are "Spanishes" (i.e., Iberian, Caribbean, Mexican, South and Central American) which share basic similarities but are differentiated lexically, phonologically and conversationally has long been accepted and even embraced by textbook writers, the inclusion of *intra*language variants has not been so readily accepted. It is interesting to note here that the popular and well received Spanish language video series *Destinos* (Van Patten, et al. 1991) includes samples of both national and social variants of Spanish in its contents.

One certainly can speak of "Englishes" as well, citing British, U.S., Australian, Indian, Canadian among others; but only in the last decade have EFL and ESL textbooks begun to include materials from the periphery of the accepted "norm" for students to consider in their study. But it is not necessary to cross national borders to encounter variants of English. Within any English-speaking environment one may face a plethora of "native" variants of the language. Indeed, to read Twain or Faulkner requires a decent comprehension of the regional dialect of the American South.

Perhaps the most obvious response to Kramsch's apt comments on the necessity to recognize a multiplicity of "native speakers" in the FL classroom is the incorporation of carefully selected authentic materials as basic texts of instruction. Through such materials, students are no longer forced to consume only one canonical variant of native speech, but may be exposed to and understand a variety of native variants reflecting the natural breadth of a language within different social and cultural contexts. The use of such texts has been much discussed in the FL teaching literature during the past decade, but perhaps now deserves to be revisited in the context of providing our students with more useful and relevant language samples for their consideration. Indeed, by combining the inclusion of appropriate authentic texts with the consideration of individual learner styles and needs, we may actually find ourselves doing a much better job in attracting and retaining students, especially in the LCTLs. Recent research in individual learner styles and preferences has prompted some authors of Russian language materials to include self-diagnostic instruments in their textbooks to help students facilitate their learning and study of the language (See Davidson, et al. 1996.) Such a move toward increased learner autonomy is also supported in Kramsch's description of native speaker privilege. As we move away from a conception of an idealized native speaker guiding our textbooks and language learning materials, we move closer to the determination of particular native speech desired and needed by our students and a very different kind of "X-for-special-purposes" language course. Rather than considering only the area of specialization of the learner, we also consider "the multiple possibilities for self-expression" of our students," as Kramsch puts it. On this level, the status of the learner as a nonnative speaker not only privileges the student, but essentially puts her in the rarified position of individualized learner, a position of both honor and obligation which should encourage students to pursue study of the LCTLs in our institutions.

Returning to the question "How Much Russian Does an American Learner Need?," one can now with greater confidence assert that both the quantity and the quality of the Russian presented to a learner may be entirely dependent on her particular instrumental needs and desires to use the language. As Polinsky (2000) points out, as the number and type of heritage speakers of Russian in the U.S. continues to grow, these issues of "nativeness" and "nonnativeness" of speech will not only remain with us, but have an increasing impact on our curricula, textbooks and programs. For Russian and other LCTLs taught in the United States, this movement towards accommodating the privileged nonnative speaker may turn out to be the key to keeping our programs viable and productive.

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The Native Speaker: Membership Has Its Privileges

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In her essay, Kramsch forcefully argues against the native speaker construct, calling it "imaginary" ... "[an] ideal that corresponds less and less to reality (p. 363)." In the form of a rhetorical question, she exhorts teachers and learners not to abandon "their unique multilingual perspective on the foreign language and on its literature and culture to emulate the idealized monolingual native speaker (p. 360)". Although her observations are convincing, I will argue that the very belief in the existence of a native speaker motivates many language learners, whose goal is personal transformation by the adoption of behaviors and cultural values imputed to native speakers. The "native speaker"—or the transformed non-native speaker—serve as immediate instantiations of the transformative power of a new language and culture.

Kramsch is dismissive of this motivation, claiming that "more often than not, insiders do not want outsiders to become one of them (as learners of Japanese have often experienced), and even if given the choice, most language learners would not want to become one of them" (p. 364). She continues by asserting that "[t]he pleasure of annexing a foreign language does not primarily consist in identifying with flesh-and-blood native-speaking nationals" (p. 364). I am not certain how Kramsch has arrived at these conclusions. Nevertheless, even if sheer numbers back up her claims, an examination of the autobiographical narratives of French language learners confirms that identifcation with flesh-and-blood culture bearers is a powerful motivation that cannot be ignored.

That language study transforms a student is both a desired outcome and standard rationale for its inclusion in the curriculum. The formulæ are familiar: language study opens the world, expands horizons, develops critical thinking skills, and builds vocabulary and knowledge of grammar in the native language. Less often mentioned to the general public, but strikingly present in the autobiographical genre, is the social transformation experienced by students of French. Mastery of French represents a means of improving one's social standing, going beyond one's humble or provincial origins, "passing." Here are some examples.

Alice Kaplan's anxiety over the pronunciation of the French "r" during her initial study in Switzerland betrays her desire to overcome her Midwestern upbringing. Her American "r" is a source of dissatisfaction, an obstacle to her passing for French: "In September my "r" is clunky, the one I've brought with me from Minnesota. It is like cement overshoes, like wearing wooden clogs in a cathedral. It is like any number of large objects in the world—all of them heavy, all of them out of place, all of them obstacles. *Je le heurte*—I come up against it like a wall" (p. 54).

In describing her American "r", Kaplan uses images that may be applied to the peasant, the worker, the socially inferior, the outsider. Mastering the French "r", on the other hand, identifies her as an insider and, by inference, advances her socially: "So that feeling of coming onto the "r" like a wall was part of feeling the essence of my American speech patterns in French, feeling them as foreign and awkward. I didn't know at the time how important it was to feel that American "r" like a big lump in my throat and to be dissatisfied about it. Feeling the lump was the first step, the prerequisite to getting rid of it" (p. 54). Kaplan has discarded her wooden clogs, her peasant status, and presumably feels at ease in the lofty cathedral.

Fowlie describes his acquisition of French as a process that allows him to relive his life in a fresh and better fashion: "When we began using the first phrases in French, such as opening a door and saying that we were doing so, it was not only a new experience in language for me, but I actually seemed to be opening the door in a new way. I seized upon the opportunity of making French into a ritual by means of which I might correct all my past blunders and come fresh upon the universe to manipulate it anew. French was to be, justifiably, my studied and rehearsed approach to life, the very kind I had been searching for unwittingly" (p. 14).

French permits Nelson to transform herself into an upper-class woman, with the distant, authoritarian and even contemptuous attitude that such social status may confer: "I was a French ambassador in and out of my classroom. I was Madame. In everything I said and did I created a French aura about me. In all my note writing to students, parents, administration, and colleagues, my signature was Madame. A certain aura is a must for any teacher" (p. 8).

On another difficult occasion, Nelson met the gaze of her adversary "with a stare more frigid and haughty than his, then I extended my hand in the typical gesture of a French upper-class woman. This was more eloquent than words" (p. 8). Nelson self-identifies as French, a transformation that allows her to assume a superior and unassailable posture.

Gegerias characterizes her method of teaching as a "Cartesian elixir from the ancient art of alchemy" (p. 66) that "transmute[s] basic metals into gold" (p. 70). It is "the matrix for transforming hesitant American students of French into more confident francophiles (p. 65); and the source of an "intellectual transformation" (p. 68).

Before studying French, students were equated with base metals, which, through an alchemist's (=teacher's) intervention, could be turned into the social signifier of wealth, status and power: gold. French could transform the mundane into the glamorous, the hesitant into the confident.

While a Cartesian elixir may serve as the instrumentality of transformation and consequent social elevation signified by the French language, in some cases, the sexual act—with a native or perceived native speaker of French—assumed this role. Kaplan describes her affair with André. Years later, after rereading a love letter in which he corrected her French usage, she remarks, "This should have been my first clue that what I really wanted from André was language, but in the short run all it did was make me feel more attached to him, without knowing why I was attached. [...] What I wanted more than anything, more than André even, was to make those sounds, which were the true sounds of being French ..." (p. 86). Reflecting on André's rejection of her, Kaplan confesses, "I wanted to breathe in French with André, I wanted to sweat French sweat. It was the rhythm and pulse of his French I wanted, the body of it, and he refused me, he told me I could never get that" (p. 94). Rather than being an ameliorative experience, Kaplan's liaison resulted in physical deformation, the herpes simplex she caught from André, which caused her face and ear to swell.

Oxenhandler, in his quest for transcendence through French, altered his sexual identity: "I had my first homosexual experience with Michel at the University of Chicago in 1948. Meeting this brilliant teacher was the most exciting thing that happened in my years on a campus where politics, the arts, and the intellectual life were in ferment. I went to hear Michel read Rimbaud and came away hooked on French literature. Later, I took his courses. Under his look of a Scotch clergyman there was a subversive and seductive Socrates who understood the dreams of young men who left home to discover the world of literature and the arts. Above all he held the key to France, to that wonderful culture I had briefly tasted as a GI; his knowledge of it seemed inexhaustible, and, to my amazement, he wanted to share it with me. There was a slight inconvenience in the fact that I did not measure up to his passion; but I was willing to make myself over, to become a gay man, if it meant that the treasures of French culture would be mine" (pp. 85–86).

Finally, Miller describes her summers at Middlebury, where she discovered the "fatal connection between French and sex (or at least French professors and American girls)" (p. 54). When complimented on the quality of her spoken French, she experiences a moment of *jouissance* : does she mean mere enjoyment or sexual pleasure? Undoubtedly, both.

It is not my claim that the transformative power of language is the primary motivation for language learners. However, as these excerpts illustrate, it is a powerful and seductive factor. In order to achieve their goal, these students—among them successful French scholars—believed implicitly in the native speaker construct. To deny our students the "privilege" of this belief, particularly at the beginning of their course of study, is not in our self interest. To relegate them to "the interstices of national languages and [...] the margins of monolingual speakers' territories" (p. 368) is to arrogate a decision that ignores student motivation.

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The *AAUSC Issues in Language Program Direction* series uses the author-date citation system described in *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th ed. *(Note that here and elsewhere a number of these references do not refer to a real work; they are for illustration purposes only.)*

1. Basic reference: If, from the context, the author is clear, use only the date within parentheses. If not, use the last name of an author and the year of publication of the work, with no punctuation between them. Note that no designation of "ed." or "comp." is used.

   (VanPatten 1993)

   Benseler and Cronjaeger (1991) provide the first comprehensive listing on the topic of TA development in foreign languages in their extensive bibliography.

   Although exhortations to the contrary are easily found (Allwright 1981), the textbook, particularly the introductory textbook . . .

2. For a reference with page numbers, use a comma to separate date and page number. Precede the page number(s) with p. or pp.

   (Byrnes 1990, p. 42)

3. For a reference with volume and page numbers, use arabic number for volume, colon, and arabic number for page:

   (Weinberg 1952, 2: p. 129)

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5. For works by two or three authors, use this form:

   (Smith and Jones 1991)

   (Smith, Jones, and North 1993)

6. For works by more than three authors, use "et al." If there is another work of the same date that would also abbreviate to "et al.," use a short title identifying the work cited.

   (Mitchell et al. 1992)

   (Mitchell et al., Writing Space, 1992)

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   (ACTFL 1994)

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   (Jones 1992; Light 1990; Smith 1991)

   (Jones 1992; Light 1990, pp. 72–74; Smith 1991, p. 6)

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   (Kelly 1896, 1902a, 1902b)

   (Kelly 1896, p. 4; 1902a, pp. 120–22; 1902b, p. 45)

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Order of Entries

Always alphabetize by last name of principal author; for questions of alphabetization, see *Chicago* Chapter 17.

1. If an author has both individual and coauthored works, all individual works precede coauthored ones.
    a. By date: oldest first
    b. If more than one work in the same year, order by alpha and add lowercase a, b, c, etc.: 1993a, 1993b
2. Coauthored works:
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    b. within each group, organize by date (oldest first)
    c. if more than one work with same date, organize by alpha using a, b, c.

Clément, Richard. 1980. Ethnicity, Contact and Communicative Competence in a Second Language. In *Language: Social Psychological Perspectives,* edited by H. Giles, W. P. Robinson, and P. M. Smith, 147–54. Oxford: Pergamon.

Clément, Richard, and Bastian G. Kruidenier. 1983. Orientations on Second Language Acquisition: 1. The Effects of Ethnicity, Milieu, and Their Target Language on Their Emergence. *Language Learning* 33: 273–91.

———. 1985. Aptitude, Attitude, and Motivation in Second Language Proficiency: A Test of Clément's Model. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 4: 21–37.

Clément, Richard, Zoltán Dörnyei, and Kimberly A. Noels. Submitted for publication. Motivation, Self-Confidence, and Group Cohesion in the Foreign Language Classroom.

Three-em Dashes (———) for Repeated Names:

Do not use when a coauthor is first added. If the same author is used again, add 3-em.

> Dörnyei, Zoltán. 1990a. Analysis of Motivation Components in Foreign Language Learning. Paper presented at the Ninth World Congress of Applied Linguistics, Greece.
>
> ———. 1990b. Conceptualizing Motivation in Foreign-Language Learning. *Language Learning* 40: 45–78.
>
> Dörnyei, Zoltán, and Sarah Thurrell. 1992. *Conversation and Dialogues in Action.* Hemel Hempstead: Prentice-Hall.
>
> ———. 1994. Teaching Conversational Skills Intensively: Course Content and Rationale. *ELT Journal* 48: 40–49.

Special Notes

1. Personal names beginning with "Mc" or any abbreviated forms of "Mac" should be indexed under "Mac" as though the full form were used.

2. For all state abbreviations, consult *Chicago* 14.17.

3. There is always a comma separating the names of authors, even if there are only two authors:

   Bernhardt, Elizabeth, and JoAnn Hammadou. 1987.

4. There are no quotation marks around article titles. Use quotes only when there is a title within a title. Books are in italics.

5. Abbreviate page-number spans according to 8.69.

Journal Article: One Author (16.104)

Note that identification of the issue is used *only* when each issue is paginated separately (in contrast to the common practice of consecutive pagination throughout a volume).

> Lange, Dale. 1986. The MLA Commission of Foreign Languages, Literatures, and Linguistics: Comments and Advice. *ADFL Bulletin* 17(1): 28–31.

Journal Article: Two or More Authors (16.104)

Allen, Wendy, Keith Anderson, and Léon Narváez. 1992. Foreign Languages Across the Curriculum: The Applied Foreign Language Component. *Foreign Language Annals* 25: 11–19.

Organizations, Associations, or Corporations (16.52)

If a publication issued by an organization bears no personal author's name on the title page, it should be listed by the organization, even if the name is repeated in the title or in the series title or as the publisher.

American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. 1986. *ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines.* Hastings-on-Hudson, NY: ACTFL.

Edited Book (16.46):

Byrnes, Heidi, and Michael Canale, eds. 1987. *Defining and Developing Proficiency: Guidelines, Implementations, and Concepts.* Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook.

Article in an Edited Book

James, Dorothy. 1989. Reshaping the "College-Level" Curriculum: Problems and Possibilities. In *Shaping the Future: Challenges and Opportunities,* edited by Helen S. Lepke, 79–110. Burlington, VT: Northeast Conference.

Book in a Series (16.86)

Magnan, Sally Sieloff, ed. 1991. *Challenges in the 1990s for College Foreign Language Programs.* AAUSC Issues in Language Program Direction. Boston, MA: Heinle & Heinle.

Johnson, Carl L. 1944. *Professor Longfellow at Harvard.* Studies in Literature and Philology, vol. 5. Eugene: University of Oregon Press.

Article in Edited Book that Is Part of a Series

Lee, James F., and Bill VanPatten. 1991. The Question of Language Program Direction Is Academic. In *Challenges in the 1990s for College Foreign Language Programs,* edited by Sally Sieloff Magnan, 113–27. AAUSC Issues in Language Program Direction. Boston, MA: Heinle & Heinle.

An Edition (16.79)

Pedhazur, Elazar J. 1982. *Multiple Regression Behavioral Research: Explanation and Prediction.* 2d ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Publisher's Information Implies a Special Publishing Division

Light, Richard J. 1992. *Harvard Assessment Seminars Second Report.* Cambridge: Harvard University, Graduate School of Education.

Unpublished Thesis (16.132, if published see below)

Tucker, Holly. 1996. Strategies of Rewriting in Charles Sorel's *Histoires Comiques.* Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Published Thesis (16.96 if microform; treat as normal book if otherwise. Note use of italics.)

Jones, Mildred. 1962. *Il Pastor Fido: Sheep and Their Shepherds.* Chicago: University Microforms.

Papers Read at a Meeting (16.133)

Magnan, Sally Sieloff. 1990. Preparing Inexperienced TAs for Second-Year Courses: Are Our Orientations and Methods Courses Adequate? Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, Nashville.

Forthcoming or In Press (16.57)

Knight, Susan. Forthcoming. Dictionary: The Tool of Last Resort in Foreign Language Reading. A New Perspective. *Modern Language Journal.*

Waldman, Lila. In press. Bilingual Administrative Support Personnel in United States Corporations. *Modern Language Journal* 78.

ERIC Docs

Rubin, Joan, and Irene Thompson. 1992. Material Selection in Strategy Instruction for Russian Listening Comprehension. ERIC Doc. No. ED349796.

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